

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/1284>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful thanks are due to Dr Piotr Kuhiwczak, Professor Susan Bassnett, Dr Lynn Guyver, Professor Martin Stannard, Dr Aleka Lianeri, Dr Celia Hawkesworth, Dr Charles Turner, Dr Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and, particularly, to my father, Arthur Hammond. I am also grateful for the assistance of the British Academy, who funded me throughout the project. Without their help, this dissertation would not have been possible.

**THE DEBATED LANDS:
BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING
AND THE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE BALKANS**

BY

ANDREW NEIL HAMMOND

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in British and
Comparative Cultural Studies**

**UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND
COMPARATIVE CULTURAL STUDIES
APRIL 2002**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements iii

Declaration iv

Abstract v

Introduction: Postcolonial Studies and the Concept of the Balkans1

SECTION 1: 1850-1914

Chapter 1: The Discourse of Balkanism 35

Chapter 2: Victorian Self and Balkan Other 68

SECTION 2: 1914-1939

Chapter 3: Wartime Collaboration 128

Chapter 4: The Escape from Modernity 167

SECTION 3: 1939-2001

Chapter 5: The Cold War 230

Chapter 6: A Return to Denigration 276

Conclusion: Postcommunism within the Academy337

Bibliography 343

ABSTRACT

Surveying an extensive range of British travel texts, the thesis explores the manner in which the Balkans have been viewed as a significant ‘other’ of British civilisation over the last one hundred and fifty years, particularly from 1989 to 2001, between the demise of the communist adversary and the rise of ‘global terrorism’.

The thesis pursues three major objectives, all of which advance upon previous studies of cross-cultural representation and travel writing. Firstly, I argue that despite its heterogeneous nature, balkanist discourse has passed through three distinct paradigms. These are denigration before 1914, romanticisation in the inter-war years, and, after an ambivalent mixture of sympathy and disappointment during the Cold War, a return to denigration in the 1990s. Secondly, I contend that such paradigms are dependent not on conditions within the Balkans, but on the forms and transformations of the travellers’ own cultural background. Most importantly, I explore the links between the three paradigms and the cultural moments of imperialism, modernity and postmodernity. I examine, for example, how pre-1914 denigration reveals close similarities to colonial discourse, how inter-war romanticism reflects the modernist quest for exoticism and psychological escape, and how the reappearance of denigration coincides with the advent of postmodern scepticism. As a central component of such study, I explore how the changing identity positions of British travellers since 1850, shifting from the imperial subjects of the Victorian age to today’s postromantic generation, have impacted on balkanist representation.

The third major objective is to analyse how these constructions have served economic and political power. Making use of that Foucauldian strand of poststructuralism common in postcolonial studies of cultural discourse, I examine the way in which British support for Ottoman hegemony in the Balkans in the nineteenth century, which denigratory representation helped to vindicate, found its equivalents in the shifting patterns of western influence and conquest that the Balkans have been subject to in the twentieth century.

**In memory of my mother
Gillian Margaret Hammond
1938-2001**

THE DEBATED LANDS

‘What can you learn on the shores of the Occident?’

Voltaire, ‘La Russe à Paris’ (1760)

‘I feel that we Westerners should come here to learn how to live.’

Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1942)

INTRODUCTION:

POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES AND THE CONCEPT OF THE BALKANS

It may be that our literary and cultural theories will always be based on the processes of exclusion. Any field of inquiry, however multiple the expression of its adherents, tends to privilege specific methodologies, authors, texts and cultural experiences in a way that excludes or marginalises what one could consider to be equally pertinent areas of study. There is no doubt that the process has particularly afflicted postcolonial theory and its explorations of colonialism, colonial discourse and postcolonial literatures.

Colonial discourse analysis is now well-established within the Western academy. While left-wing theorists had been analysing the literature of empire since the 1960s, the popularisation of the field is commonly sourced at Edward Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978. It was Said's merging of colonial studies with the radical edge of contemporary French theory, particularly that of the philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault, that engaged an academy increasingly disillusioned with Marxist practice. Working from Foucault's conjunction of knowledge and power, Said was concerned with the discursive and representational practices of Western texts on the Orient, exploring how disciplines like ethnology, history, geography and literature derive from the region a unified 'knowledge', and the way this 'knowledge informs, feeds into the voice of European ambition for rule over the Orient.'¹ The recognition of the work's enormous influence is not to say that development has not occurred. On the one hand, the last two decades have seen a rapid expansion of the field's geographical focus, finally penetrating the Western archive on all its colonial territory from South America to the South Pacific, and in so doing accruing a more evolved awareness of the multiplicity of colonial experience. On the other, his methodology is often questioned, with deconstruction, psychoanalytic criticism, even Marxism, challenging the Foucauldian bent of Said's inquiry. This broad variety of regional emphases, and the diverging, even incompatible critical

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, new ed. (1978; London: Penguin, 1995), p. 196.

methodologies, have made a coherent definition of colonial discourse analysis notoriously tricky. Perhaps the most that can be claimed is that the contemporary field is linked by its regard for the relationship of colony and empire, and the workings of power in the colonial text.

A feature of Said's study that remains largely unchallenged by his successors, however, is the pronounced emphasis upon the colonial practice of the West. While admirable work on the subject is undoubtedly being produced, there has been scant reference to that small, but significant, portion of the globe untrammelled by western European dominion. As yet the field has had little to say about Persia, Tibet, Afghanistan, or the territories of the Chinese and Ottoman empires, which, even at the height of Western expansion, comprised some fifteen per cent of the world's land surface.² The historical conditions of domination and subjugation in such regions would seem central for understanding both the multiplicity of global power and the interactions of power with heterogeneous indigenous cultures. Yet, important as these conditions may be, critical investigation has barely begun. Holding the West as its ostensible target, postcolonialism continues to privilege the territorial achievements of, particularly, France and Britain, with their cultural and political aggrandisements in India, Africa and the Middle East receiving the most vocal commentary within the academy. It would be too easy a paradox to say that this canonisation of place - as we could term it - reproduces the original colonial focus. To accuse the field of any overt reliance on the structures of the past would underestimate the political iconoclasm of profoundly committed academics. A paradox that would be more to the point is that postcolonial studies, a field so aware of the dynamics of power between centre and periphery, finally contrives to further the powerlessness of those peoples whose experience falls outside its chosen geographical parameters.³

² Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. xiii.

³ The paradox is particularly evident if we take the aims of postcolonialism to be, as Arif Dirlik summarises them, 'an authentic globalization of cultural discourses by the extension globally of the intellectual concerns and orientations originating at the central sites of Euro-American cultural criticism and by the introduction into the latter of voices and subjectivities from the margins' (Dirlik, 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism', *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Winter 1994), p. 329). The exclusivity of postcolonialism is superbly demonstrated by Bryan Cheyette's analysis of its exclusion of the experience of antisemitism (see Cheyette, 'White Skin, Black Masks: Jews and Jewishness in the Writings of George Eliot and Frantz Fanon', in Keith Ansell Pearson, Benita Parry

This quality of spatial preference can be considered the first of a dual process of exclusion through which postcolonialism has achieved formulation. The second is the temporal preference exhibited in the recurrent choice of pre-1914 history as the proper ground of study.⁴ Belying Said's urgent regard for the contemporary, the criticism of the last two decades, with its sustained focus on the colonialism of previous centuries, has (un)consciously relocated the geopolitical orderings of the globe to a period safely positioned in the past. Our temporal distance from the vagaries of imperialism is implied by the discipline's very appellation, one of the terms of a 'post' culture that gathered pace shortly after *Orientalism* was published. As Anne McClintock argues, its suggestion of a break from the colonial era 'makes it easier not to see, and therefore harder to theorise, the continuities in international imbalances in imperial power.'⁵ It is a point one can imagine finding earnest support within a wide range of non-western academies. The inferences of today's 'post' terminology, for example, may have a measure of suitability for those territories released from Western rule this century, but would find few adherents in territories like Tibet, Chechnya, Cyprus or Palestine where forms of colonial rule continue apace. Similarly, the West's own strategies of colonialism, with its direct appropriation and settlement of territory, have passed to the anonymity of an atrocious economic imperialism that pays little heed to those subtle cultural distinctions with which colonial settlement had once to contend. Nevertheless, in a wide-ranging erasure of the contemporary, the postcolonial critic continues to pore over the musty archives of the Renaissance, Enlightenment and nineteenth-century periods in a diligent quest for the West's historical abuses.

and Judith Squires, eds., *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), pp. 106-126).

⁴ Holland and Huggan also make the point: see Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 47. Ahmad bewails the fact that 'there appears to be [...] far greater interest in the colonialism of the past than in the imperialism of the present' (Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 93). See also the editors' 'Introduction' to Bart Moore-Gilbert, Gareth Stanton and Willy Maley, eds., *Postcolonial Criticism* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 59.

⁵ Anne McClintock, 'The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Postcolonialism'', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen, eds., *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 258.

It seems to me to be time for a genuine reappraisal of the theoretical constructions within which we work. Now that postcolonial criticism has been firmly established as an oppositional voice, there is a need to turn critical attention within, and to begin addressing the limitations of the field itself. In part, this thesis is an attempt at such an intervention, aiming to propound and test theoretical expansion of a particular kind. My primary wish is to readjust the current constructions of the field by reducing emphasis on the relations of coloniser and colonised, and the residue of empire in post-independence nations, and shifting to a more inclusive awareness of the multiple manifestations of transnational domination; in other words, a shift in the basic unit of study from 'colony' to 'power'. In this way, I hope to encourage a foundation for our critical engagement that 'is not one of power secured and centrally exercised in certain times and places,' as Graham Pechey puts it, but 'rather a dispersal, a moving field of possibilities'.⁶ This need not diminish study of the conquest, conversion, subjugation and resistance that defines the imperial-colonial dialectic. Yet what is vital to achieve is a combination of this study with the examination of economic hegemony, military interventionism, cultural imperialism, 'Third World' debt and all those factors which, both now and in the past, have constituted very real conditions of control and subordination. Without this combination, postcolonialism will continue to produce its curiously abridged narrative of the spatial and temporal ubiquity of global power.

It is partly for these theoretical purposes that I have chosen the Balkans as my area of study. Once postcolonialism is expanded to include the varieties of imperial power, this south-east European peninsula, most commonly constructed in the West as Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and the former Yugoslavia,⁷ would seem of extraordinary interest.

⁶ Graham Pechey, 'Post-Apartheid Narratives', in *Ibid.*, p. 153. In drawing attention to the range of 'others' that the West has created via cross-cultural discourse, I am not attempting to conceal localism, and thus 'obscure the multiplicity of colonial projects and the plurality of potential subversions of them' (Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 195) but to extend awareness of diversity of local forms of transnational power.

⁷ Greece, of course, also lies within the Balkan peninsula. Nevertheless, in my reading I have found that, due to the country's classical heritage and the significance of that heritage for English cultural life, Greece often receives a different pattern of representation to that of the Balkan countries to its north. For this reason, I consider the country's discursive reception worthy of separate study. This is not to say, however, that Greece is not often imaged with the same motifs of backwardness and savagery: for an introductory analysis of British travel writing on Greece, see Robert Shannan Peckham, 'The Exoticism of the Familiar and the Familiarity of the Exotic', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 164-184.

Even within the field's traditional focus on Western empire, the Balkans form the *locus classicus* of colonial interference;⁸ France, Austria, Germany and Italy have all penetrated the region at points over the last two hundred years, exerting the colonial processes of conquest and oppression, and leaving a rich archive of texts in support of national interests. Such exemplification of the global power network increases in the wider context of study. Should non-western colonialism be explored, for example, the Ottoman conquest would provide a profoundly illuminating line of inquiry, the empire having achieved a regional hegemony of a duration and cultural influence that the West's own colonial ventures could seldom equal. At the same time, should the field ever come to view 'the post-communist world as a postcolonial space',⁹ the Soviet Union's political and cultural leverage throughout much of the Balkans offers one means by which the global ideological expansions of the Cold War era could be explored. The region has, in short, experienced such wide-ranging subjugation, and such marginalisation from the centres of political influence, that one struggles to understand why - in a curious instance of intellectual complicity - this political marginalisation should have found its corollary in the Western academy, in which south-east Europe has been left to drift out to the far peripheries of metropolitan theory. Aijaz Ahmad's observation of the region's recent introduction into 'the punishing logic of the capitalist market'¹⁰ is one of its rare acknowledgements by a major theorist. In general, the work of various historians and

⁸ As Okey succinctly puts it, '[n]owhere has the fate of small nations become so caught up in the ideological and strategic confrontations of the great powers' (Robin Okey, *Eastern Europe 1740-1985: Feudalism to Communism*, 2nd ed. (1982; London and New York: Routledge, 1986), p. 10. Jelavich, in 1983, recognised the [post]colonial position of the Balkans by claiming 'external factors, largely beyond their control, will probably determine their future' (Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Volume 2, Twentieth Century* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 446. See also Edgar Hösch, *The Balkans: A Short History from Greek Times to the Present Day*, trans. Tania Alexander (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), pp. 9-10, 29-30.

⁹ Piotr Kuhiwczak, 'How Postcolonial Is Post-Communist Translation?' [unpublished essay], p. 24.

¹⁰ Ahmad, *In Theory*, p. 311. Another example is the recognition by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin that the 'Slavic cultures [...] were amongst the earliest signifiers of the Other both as a positive and negative force in European's culture's concept of itself and of its 'uniqueness' and value' (Bill Ashcroft, et al, eds., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 157. Homi Bhabha mentions the Balkans in an essay of 1996, but only to negatively essentialise it: 'How did we allow ourselves to forget [...] that the old Balkan tribes would form again?' he asks, stereotyping the region, in both its geographical and historical entirety, by discord and enmity (see Bhabha, 'Culture's In-Between', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), p. 59.

sociologists on the Balkans that has appeared since 1989 has managed little, if any, intervention, with academics like Maria Todorova, Milica Bakić-Hayden, Larry Wolff, Dina Iordanova and John Allcock producing a valuable body of work that has remained unreferenced in mainstream studies. It is the temporal unsuitability of Soviet hegemony, I would suggest, and the spatial unsuitability of Ottoman conquest that have elided the region's very real significance, and left it as one of postcolonialism's uncanonised places.

My attempt to address this erasure will be limited to an analysis of one particular form of hegemony exerted over the region. The examination of Ottoman, Western and communist colonialism in this most fertile of 'contact zones' should offer illuminating insight into the hybrid productions of power, and would, I believe, produce compelling support for the urgent expansion of the range of postcolonial studies. The various colonialisms are, however, beyond the scope of this study. I wish to exemplify, not try to exhaust, the possibilities of an expanded postcolonialism, and to do this my specific concern is to demonstrate the relevance to the field of non-settlement imperialism. Interference through diplomacy, economic intervention and military intimidation has always been a feature of global power in the modern world, and with its rise to prominence in the post-war era, the system of neo-imperialism, as it is now known, comprises the most notable form of power to be currently underrepresented. This thesis aims, therefore, to demonstrate the tenacious presence of power in imperial texts, and also to evidence what I view as certain fundamental similarities between the Western archives of colonial and non-colonial imperialism. In order to do this in the Balkan context, I shall be concerned with the machinations of Britain, a nation whose actual colonial expansion in the region has remained appropriately small. As Vesna Goldsworthy reminds us, British territorial gains there amounted to the relatively insignificant dependency of Vis, a small, rocky island off the Croatian coast, on which a section of the Mediterranean fleet was stationed from 1811 to 1814. It was a trifling achievement for an empire that would go on to conquer over a quarter of the globe. This absence of any widespread settlement in the Balkans, combined with their apparent distance from British influence during Ottoman and Communist rule, would suggest - as Goldsworthy herself has concluded - a 'relatively slight involvement with the area'.¹¹ In

¹¹ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 10. This included some control of the nearby islands of

fact, as I hope to demonstrate, British strategy since the early eighteenth-century has not only been one of constant imperial interference, but one that has had profound and lasting effect on the region's cultural and political landscape.

In exploring the nature of such interference, my predominant concern is with evidencing how British cultural constructions of south-east Europe have colluded with political strategy. Although little work has been done in this area, research may well prove that the extremity of popular preconceptions of a foreign region in circulation at a particular time forms a strong indication of national interests in that region's direction. If so, and belying the supposed distance between Britain and south-east Europe, the command that the latter has over the British imagination would itself expose its enormous pertinence to our political and cultural life. There is no doubt that the Balkans have attained one of the most vigorous regional reputations in discursive currency,¹² and have furnished the English language with one of its strongest geographical pejoratives. The term was originally the Turkish designation for one of the peninsula's mountain chains, entering English usage as a relatively unnuanced variation on Haemus, the classical appellation for the region.¹³ In time, 'Balkans' accumulated the dead weight of popular prejudice and, via the derivatives of 'balkanise', 'balkanised', and 'balkanisation', has been included in the English dictionary as a euphemism for both the state of division and the process of radical fragmentation. In more general parlance, the term has a far wider set of conceptual implications: chaos, savagery, and obfuscation, most predominantly, mixed with a measure of superstition, slavery and moral dissolution, tend to form the broader composition of this socio-philosophical concept given geographical location.

The wider usage becomes evident once one turns to the pages of British travel literature, the genre I will be using to explore the history and political complicity of the

Korčula and Lastovo. If one were to consider the Balkan region in a wider sense, then British colonial activity would also include occupation of the Ionian islands from 1815 to 1863.

¹² Challenging the claims of postcolonialism, M.E. Yapp argues that 'of all the negatives [or 'others'] known to Europe the nearest, the most obvious and the most threatening has been the Islamic Near East, represented from the fourteenth century onwards by the menace of the Ottoman state' (Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish Mirror', *Past and Present*, No. 137 (Nov. 1992), p. 135).

¹³ Norris writes: 'The word is Turkish in origin and means 'a chain of mountains', usually wooded. It was used to refer specifically to a chain of mountains in what is now northern Bulgaria and called the Stara Planina range' (David Norris, *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 7. See also Norris's discussion on pp. 8-11.

British concept of the Balkans. As Mary Louise Pratt has mentioned, this popular literary form bears a large responsibility for 'producing other parts of the world for the imaginations of Europeans',¹⁴ and its production of parts of Europe has frequently been no exception. The Balkan journals of diplomats, consuls, novelists, surveyors and adventurers have done much to originate and clarify the cluster of preconceptions which circulates in the homeland, while at the same time *evoking* such qualities as chaos, savagery or discord through a range of beguiling stylistic flourishes that serve to naturalise their wretched undertone of power and prejudice. A fine example in kind can be taken from Jan and Cora Gordon's *Two Vagabonds in the Balkans* (1925). The travelogue opens with the couple's arrival by train at the northern Yugoslav border town of Brod, in the summer of 1921. The reflections to which this dread entrance into the Balkans give rise are worth quoting in full:

When you have been thrust out of the train at midnight into the blackest gloom, on to what you must believe to be a station platform from the behaviour of your fellow passengers rather than from any visual deduction, since no gleam of lamp relieves the darkness; when you have, undisturbed by importunity of porter, dragged your bags and packages from the train, lowering them on to ground which, though invisible, feels greasy with thick mud under the boot; when you have in panic bewilderment taken a dozen steps into the darkness - vaguely hoping that information of some sort will be discoverable in any other spot than the one where you are at the moment - only to be tripped up, floundering down into a squad of now expostulating and quite perceptibly odorous soldiery, who were formerly snoring upon their backs at full length on the platform; when you have accosted a dozen dim forms to find each one a new variant of exasperated and egoistic passenger; when you have tried French, German, Serb and

¹⁴ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 18. As Johannes Fabian writes, 'travelogues [...] for centuries has been the appropriate literary genre in which to report knowledge of the Other': Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 87. Dennis Porter argues that travel narratives 'have traditionally been the vehicle by which our knowledge of things foreign has been mediated' (Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 3. Wolff also remarks, pertinently, that in the twentieth century '[t]he literature of travel [...] was far more important than fiction to the already venerable tradition of Western Europe's perspective on Eastern Europe' (Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilisation on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 368).

blasphemy without getting answer good or bad from anybody, you may be pardoned if you judge that you have arrived somewhere near to the edge of civilisation, or at least of civilisation as we would understand it. Yet Brod station is technically well within European soil lying west of the longitude of Budapest and north of the latitude of Genoa or Bordeaux.¹⁵

The passage acts as a summary of travel writing's denigration of the Balkans, one in which 'you', the reader, are wholly implicated. Through a process of metonymic shift, Brod station comes to stand for the Balkan region as a whole, and its characteristics are systematically identified. The long movement of the description, following the narrator-reader's stumbling movement around the platform, passes in methodical fashion through mysteriousness, laziness, squalor, obscurantism, a disagreeable military, unpredictable citizenry, lack of communication and even more obscurantism, before concluding with the inevitable reference to arrival in another, uncivilised world. Although the terms may remain unstated, the confusion also implied in both form and content, and hint of violence in the 'odious soldiery', returns us to those few essential qualities that you, the reader, deem appropriate to the geographical object: namely, chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation. It is a typically persuasive performance, not least for the final shift into factual topography in the last line. The grounding of conceptual otherness in geographic co-ordinates, and concrete urban locations, serves both to reduce any overt sense of literariness and to locate the Gordons' highly discursive imaginings in fixed, incontrovertible space one can look up on the map.¹⁶

There was nothing theoretically innovative in the Gordons' representation of south-east Europe, whatever the stylistic proficiency they brought to the subject. Before the couple returned to write up their adventure, the fundamental British concept of the Balkans had been experiencing some three long centuries of discursive hardening. Henry Blount's *Voyage to the Levant*, for instance, published in 1637, found the English traveller already responding to the Balkan sojourn with exasperation and dread. Upset by the ordeals of passage, unsettled by armed militias, and hounded by the thought of

¹⁵ Jan and Cora Gordon, *Two Vagabonds in the Balkans* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1925), pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ As I go on to elaborate in Chapter 1, the passage's positioning of the Balkans well within *European soil*, despite its apparent alterity, is important - this was the Other within, the alter-ego of western civilisation.

outrage and theft, the author says that 'to our *North-West* parts of the World, no people should be more averse, and strange of behaviour, then those of the *South-East*'.¹⁷ Blount's conception of the continent signified an early shift from the north-south alignment that prevailed during the Renaissance. By the time Edward Brown was travelling in the Ottoman lands, a few decades after Blount, the Enlightenment construction of Europe as a polarisation of West and East was beginning to emerge. Reflecting on the discord, robbery, primitiveness and slavery he experiences in Hungary, Serbia and Macedonia, Brown claims that at the Ottoman border near Buda '[a] man seems to take leave of our World' and 'enters upon Habits, Manners, and course of life: which with no great variety [...] extend unto *China*, and the utmost parts of *Asia*'.¹⁸ The distancing of the region would find greater expression during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when travel in the Ottoman Empire gathered pace and the Enlightenment aversion to the region began to crystallise into a set of concrete representational strategies. In a series of popular journals, travellers like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, David Urquhart, A.W. Kinglake and Edward Lear, while revealing that very English respect for an empire still capable of flexing some muscle, represented the indigenous peoples with the by now familiar motifs of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, reducing the complexity and richness of local culture to a degraded, homogenised entity. Although firmly in place by 1850, this representational paradigm would be considerably furthered in the travel writing of the second half of the nineteenth century: the gradual decline of 'the sick man of Europe' and the rise of local revolutionary movements initiated a long series of struggles for independence, and during the era of High Victorianism and its immediate aftermath the ironic, detached tones of the English traveller would, at times of native unrest, rise to the shrill note of moral abhorrence. It was little wonder that Rebecca West, writing two decades after the Gordons took their journey, could bemoan that 'Violence was [...] all I knew of the Balkans', a region which for her appeared populated solely by 'a *rastaquouere* type of barbarian.'¹⁹

¹⁷ Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant [etc.]*, 2nd ed. (1636; London: Andrew Crooke, 1637), p. 2.

¹⁸ Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels [etc.]* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1673), p. 69.

¹⁹ Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: The Record of a Journey through Yugoslavia in 1937*, 2 Vols. (London: Macmillan, 1942), I, 23.

It must be said that at the time of writing, West's comment was slightly disingenuous. As I shall detail in Chapters 3 and 4, the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a divergent construction of the Balkans, a form of oppositional representation of which West would surely have been aware; romantic, idealistic, complimentary, and with a keen attachment to cultural pre-modernity, this new understanding of the region would characterise the work of West and her generation, and would continue to appear in British travel writing until the latter years of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the dominant trend of representation was undoubtedly one of disparagement and censure. In her *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), Maria Todorova has termed this trend 'balkanism',²⁰ a useful shorthand for the various tropes of chaos, savagery and discord that I will be using myself in the thesis, though with one vital modification. Todorova's idea of the Western concept of the region is, following Said's *Orientalism*, rather a homogeneous affair, downplaying any real possibility of oppositional strands within the discourse and viewing all commentators as necessarily, and unreservedly, 'balkanist'. She goes so far as to term balkanist conceptualisation 'a frozen image [...] conveniently located outside historical time.'²¹ I hope to show that despite dominant tendencies the region has entered the British imagination as a far more unstable and mutable concept, with travel writing in particular expressing an ambivalence to its continental other that does much to undermine the discourse's claim to authority.²² It is for this reason that the terms 'denigratory' or 'Victorian balkanism' will be used to refer to that discursive tradition which (as my chapters on the nineteenth-century aims to detail) fashions Europe as an abiding geographical dichotomy separated and staked out by such frontier markings as the unspeakable platform of Brod.

The resurgence of denigratory modes of balkanist discourse in the post-1989 period adds urgency to any examination of representational patterns. The various crises

²⁰ See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 11. In a footnote, Todorova mentions that she has drawn the term from linguistics (where it is used to designate the various attributes of the Balkan languages).

²¹ Todorova, 'The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention', *Slavic Review* 53, No. 2 (Summer 1994), p. 463.

²² My point about balkanism is matched by Dennis Porter's contention that orientalism was also far from homogenous, but contained 'alternative and only partially silenced counter-hegemonic voices that have expressed themselves differently at different historical moments' (Porter, 'Orientalism and Its Problems', in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), pp. 153-4.

in the region, which revived interest in the peninsula after its lacuna during the Cold War, have been greeted with the reinvigoration of a nineteenth-century balkanism which time has neither altered nor assuaged. Placed alongside examples of the recent commentary, the Gordons' criticisms from the 1920s, or indeed Blount's disparagements from the seventeenth century, assume an extraordinarily contemporary feel. Consider the following passage from Alec Russell's *Prejudice and Plum Brandy* (1993). The author is again at that moment of entry into the region, although here the place is Timișoara, in eastern Romania, the time directly after the liberation from fifty years of totalitarian rule. After a long passage relating Ceaușescu's past involvement with the town, Russell goes on to say:

On arrival at Timișoara railway station, cold and hungry, we knew none of this and in swirling snow we had more pressing concerns than searching for traces of the past. It was night, thick, cloying without a chink of light. Stock lumbered past with heads peering furtively from windows as in footage of the cattle trucks of the last war. To reach the station proper we had to clamber over the tracks [...]. Figures loomed in the mist and slunk away. The unfamiliar smells of stale cooked fat hovered in the air, clinging to our clothes, seeping from the pores of fellow passengers. In the forecourt, as if in an Orwellian nightmare, officials were bellowing at stragglers. Amid the confusion floated a rumour, '*terroristi, sniper...*'

I have since learned these are stock words in the Balkan argot. In a region which thrives on hyperbole and myth, anyone hostile is a 'terrorist', anyone with a gun is a 'sniper'. Your average Balkan man tends to be too keen on his local liquor, whether *raki* or *slivovitz*, *țuică* or *cognac*, to make a good marksman [...].

However, in the blacked-out streets of Timișoara there were suspect shadows at every turn. In the centre the only light came from the candles on the shrines of the fallen martyrs and the cigarette ends of patrolling soldiers. With their squashy Red Army lookalike hats, the sentries looked very alien and the Christmas card effect of the falling snow was offset by the bullet-scarred buildings and the absence of civilians. For all its bleak communist facade, the Hotel Banatul was intensely beguiling. With considerable relief we shouldered past a policeman into the lobby.²³

²³ Alec Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy: Tales of a Balkan Stringer* (London: Michael Joseph, 1993), pp. 6-7.

Not for the author, then, the joys of liberation. Instead of choosing to celebrate the ending of abominable rule, Russell returns us to the same miserable tropes that guided the Gordons seventy years before him, and how very little has changed: under the same spell of darkness, the landscape is still mysterious, the military still disagreeable, and the population still thoroughly 'odorous'. It takes no great critic to elucidate the conceptual structures at work. From the first reference to 'swirling snow', chaos is present throughout the passage, savagery and discord enter in the shape of Orwellian officials, 'suspect shadows' and the image of drunken marksmen, and obfuscation emerges via 'hyperbole' and 'myth', all neatly rounded off by reference to the 'very alien' quality of this other Europe. Nor does Timișoara station lack the metonymic possibilities the Gordons' discovered at Brod. In a paragraph that would not be out of place in the most supercilious of Victorian travelogues, Russell effortlessly shifts from discoursing on Romanian '*sniperi*' to outlining an apparently Balkan-wide gun culture, with the allusion to Yugoslav raki and slivovitz drawing into the events of the revolution an analogy to the extraordinarily divergent events of the Yugoslavian war. The spatial homogenisation of such reference, and the temporal homogenisation that comes through allusion to communist times (Red Army lookalike hats) and the Nazi era (cattle trucks), produce the sense of an unchanged, internally coherent geographical zone. This essentialisation is the conceptual ground on which the traveller can not only build the grand declarative statements so beloved of balkanists, but also make such statements appear perfectly justified, as exemplified by Russell's discussion of what he calls 'Balkan backwardness' and 'the Balkan's chaos and confusion' in his preface. 'The trappings of civilisation there undoubtedly have more fragile foundations than in the rest of Europe,' he writes, and, not finding any significance in the region's move towards Western-style democracy, concludes: 'Maybe the Balkan peninsula is doomed by its confused and troubled history to wallow in the mistakes of the past.'²⁴

²⁴ Ibid., pp. xvii-xviii. To use the following passage from Bassett to compare nineteenth- and late twentieth-century balkanism would have perhaps overstated my point: 'Inside the station all was confusion', he writes at Podgorica. 'Along three platforms well under cover the Yugoslav army, forever it seems spending every moment of its spare time in a railway station, dug in for a long night and produced sleeping bags. 'The train is late,' philosophised a harassed station master, his red cap soaked by rain to a dull shade of rust. There was no indication as to how late but after an hour most of the civilians had decamped to the smoke-filled *kavana* which, doing a brisk trade in beer, was now the only dry place left in the station not exclusively given over to snoring soldiery' (Richard Bassett, *Balkan*

It is important to point out that Russell's portrait of the Balkans is characteristic of late twentieth-century representation, and is in no way more extreme than that of his contemporaries. The passage's particular conceptual structures have been repeated by such a wide range of travel writers, historians, reporters, politicians and political analysts, and in such a varied collection of documentaries, films, pamphlets, missionary tracts and postmodernist novels, that the denigration of the Balkans has found a greater degree of expression, and unanimity, than it ever found during the Victorian period. There is something curious about such a return during an age characterised by a rejection of the narratives of its forebears. In terms of the postmodernist literary engagements with the region, one would hardly have expected a resurgence of Victorianism from a philosophical and aesthetic practice that strives to 'clear oneself a space', as Appiah depicts the project.²⁵ Even in the sphere of modern journalism - of which Russell is a representative - the social and academic movements against racism have done so much to undermine the traditional disparagements of non-western cultures that one would assume public displays of prejudice are soon to be behind us. Yet despite racism's gradual erosion, it seems that the more untheorized prejudices of regionalism are as acceptable as ever. The accusations of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, which have marred British coverage of the post-Cold War Balkans, have been delivered with unerring confidence, and are received not as the wretched outpourings of a hackneyed, unreasoned prejudice, but rather as the most commonsensical of cultural truisms. Indeed, so familiar is the repetition of this list of preconceptions that, as John Allcock has stated, 'it is hard to recognise their arbitrary and constructed status, let alone to shake our minds free of them.'²⁶

The exposure of balkanist discourse, this 'shaking free' in Allcock's phrase,²⁷ will be a primary aim of this thesis. Building on the work of Allcock, Todorova, Wolff and

Hours: Travels in the Other Europe (London: John Murray, 1990), pp. 61-2). Bassett has the Gordons' *Two Vagabonds in the Balkans* in his bibliography.

²⁵ Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?', in *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Winter 1991), p. 346.

²⁶ John B. Allcock, 'Constructing the Balkans', in John B. Allcock and Antonia Young, *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: Women Travellers in the Balkans* (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1991), p. 175.

²⁷ This is what Loomba, drawing on Raymond Williams, describes as 'uncover[ing] the rootedness of 'modern' knowledge systems in colonial practices' in order to inaugurate 'the process of 'unlearning' [...] received truths' (Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 66).

others, I shall use the literature of travel to trace the discourse back into the nineteenth-century past, then, moving through twentieth-century historical and literary developments, attempt to understand its resurfacing in the postmodern present. The reading will aim to investigate balkanism not only as a linguistic construct, but also as one of the most unchallenged instances of political complicity in the fields of British cultural production. For this critical reading, I shall be drawing on the theory and methodology of postcolonialism, in the belief that it will assist with the completion of two broader objectives: firstly a study of the geo-political peripheralisation of the Balkans that is nurtured by written and visual representation, and secondly the pursuit of a method for opening up the postcolonial field to broader explorations of global imperialism. Through analysing the Balkans' position of double marginalisation from both economic and academic centres of power, I hope to have begun such expansion of the field's 'rewriting of the [Western] European historical and fictional record'.²⁸

There are three main theoretical precepts I shall be borrowing from the field, the first being this very attack on the presumed objectivity of Western discourse. If any notion can be said to unite the disparate strands subsumed within postcolonialism then it is the sustained attempt to challenge, expose and dislodge those concepts that civilisation has deemed universal and ahistorical. To this end, many of the advances of structuralism and poststructuralism have been utilised and developed. Influenced by both Saussure's structural models of language and Gramscian notions of hegemony, theorists like Barthes, Derrida and Foucault have been concerned to explore patterns of social belief and practice, not as foundational entities emerging from natural or moral law, but as systems of constructed, even irrational value, determined by history and naturalised by language. This exploration has often focused on the debilitating position such systems of values impose on the individual. In place of the originating human subject, fixed in transcendental essence, the selfhood becomes irrevocably culture-bound, interpellated by that particular range of beliefs that one's society has invented, objectivised and transformed over time. As postcolonialism has shown, the originators of colonial discourse were no exception to the rule: explorers, settlers, ethnologists, travellers carried with them in the move from the homeland a range of ideological presumptions that would pattern both the original apprehension of elsewhere and the later statements

²⁸ Ashcroft, et al, eds., *Empire Writes Back*, p. 195.

of the texts, a form of discursive production that spoke volumes about a traveller's culture of origin, but very little of the culture through which s/he travels.²⁹ It is from this theoretical perspective that my study of British travel writing on the Balkans will commence. While resisting any urge towards homogenisation, the thesis will locate the conceptual structures underlying the presumed 'objectivity' of nineteenth- and twentieth-century travel writing, reading the travel text not as an empirical document of historical research and social reportage - 'the sound of one civilisation reporting on another', as Colin Thubron has it - but as a document of the homeland, its ideological composition and conditions of possibility.³⁰

Postcolonial theory has done more than simply express scepticism with the truth-claims of the cross-cultural text. Alongside this questioning of the travelling subject, my second use of the field is for understanding the specific forms that representation of the object has taken in the Balkan travelogue, and in particular to explore the extent to which these forms of representation are themselves conditioned by pre-existing conceptual patterns. As I have mentioned, Saussurian linguistics has been an important

²⁹ Syed Manzural Islam terms this 'pseudo-movement', or sedentary travel: a departure which is in fact no departure at all; see Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 28. For the idea that travel writing's *real* topic is the home culture, see Susan Bassnett, 'Travel Writing within British Studies', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999), p. 5; Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 197; Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 142; Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 6; Tim Youngs, 'Buttons and Souls: Some Thoughts on Commodities and Identity in Women's Travel Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing* 1 (Spring 1997), p. 119.

³⁰ Thubron, 'Foreword' to Philip Marsden-Smedley and Jeffrey Klinke, eds., *Views from Abroad: The Spectator Book of Travel Writing*, new ed. (1988; London: Grafton Books, 1988), p. xi. Opposing an empiricist like Thubron, Goody writes, '[r]epresentations are always of something; hence they are representation, not the thing itself, *der Ding an sich*. Yet they appear to present themselves as that thing [...]. So there is always the possibility that the signifier, words, actions, images, may get confused or overly identified with the signified' (Jack Goody, *Representations and Contradictions: Ambivalence towards Images, Theatre, Fiction, Relics and Sexuality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 25). As Ley and Duncan point out, representation is informed not only by cultural norms and authorial 'idiosyncrasies', but also by the 'past biography and present intentions' of the reader: see David Ley and James Duncan, 'Epilogue' to Duncan and Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 329. Yet as Thubron does argue elsewhere, although the truthfulness of representation in travel writing can be questioned, 'the vast majority of readers take it as absolutely the truth' (Susan Bassnett, 'Interview with Colin Thubron', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999), p. 166).

point of reference for the postcolonial assault on the West's perceptions of regions away from the Western centre. The reason emerges from Saussure's notion of the signifying practice as a system of *internal difference* rather than an evocation of *external essence*: the signifier gains meaning, so the argument runs, only through its distinction from other signifiers in the linguistic chain, never achieving more than arbitrary relation to the referent outside of language.³¹ The idea of meaning as purely relational attained wider importance in the semiotics of the 1960s, within which 'difference' achieved a more ideological edge. Critics came to argue that the achievement of cultural norms and verities - signifiers of the Same or self - came about not in isolation, through appeal to transcendental truth, but was predicated on a close allegiance to what was simultaneously marginalised as abnormal or deviant; only by locating and defining its Other could society define what it wished to find about itself. The crude binarism that underpinned such systems of 'difference' only emphasised the irrationality of society's construction of the peripheral which, in turn, increasingly called into question the values and practices it chose to valorise as 'the Same.' This critique of binarism, with its opposition of self and other, has proved fundamental to the analysis of Western cross-cultural discourse. Alongside the 'peripheries' within Western society, the West also produces the geographical other in order to call up the signifiers of its collective identity. The colonised lands of Africa, Asia and the Orient have all been reduced to features in what JanMohamed has famously termed 'Manichean allegory', a hierarchical division of cultures 'based on a transformation of racial difference into moral and even metaphysical difference.'³² As the travel writing on such regions bears witness, it seems a very short step from journeying with the ideological baggage of the homeland to a systematic denigration of the cultural other. Whether derived from a consciously held racism or not, the contrast of home and abroad, which the travelogue holds as its very *raison d'être*, has so often slipped into a loaded binarism of self/other, centre/periphery, order/chaos, civilisation/savagery, form/formlessness that naturally privileges the first terms in the equation. The significance of binarism within colonial discourse has been widely

³¹ For a more involved outline of Saussure's influence on cultural and racial studies see Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the 'Other'', in Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage/The Open University, 1997), p. 234.

explored. My aim here is to establish its centrality to representations of non-colonial spheres, and to argue that the constructed 'difference' of such spheres can be as vital for manufacturing the British national identity as those of the [ex-]colonies.³³

For much postcolonial theory, the binarism that informs the denigration of the West's cultural others is innately bound up with my final theoretical borrowing, that of power-knowledge, a concept derived from the work of Michel Foucault. The choice should occasion no surprise, for the philosopher-historian's radical approach to Western discourse has had profound influence on contemporary thought and, through Said, largely spawned the practices of colonial discourse study within which I am working.³⁴ Nevertheless, my awareness of the innumerable pitfalls in which Foucauldian thought can involve the critic should be mentioned. Taken as a whole, the work is notoriously diverse - shifting and contradicting itself according to the nature of the discourse under study³⁵ - and its philosophical bent also has disastrous implications for the possibilities of agency and counter-suggestion, an area with which the thesis will engage. As a point of departure, however, I find Foucault to be of fundamental value. His thought derived from an extreme scepticism towards all totalities of thought and experience, and, through studying formation and development of such totalities, he assembled a number of valuable critical practices for dismantling, and potentially liberating ourselves, from that

³² Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', in *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985), p. 61. See also Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, new ed., trans. Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 31-3.

³³ In this way, I shall attempt to show that the claims of a critic like Ian Baucom, who argues that 'Englishness has [...] defined itself *against* the British Empire,' and that 'the concepts of Britishness and Englishness have existed only in some or other relation to imperialism,' do not offer the full picture, and therefore tend to falsify the record (see Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 12, 40).

³⁴ 'Foucault's work stands at the intersection of innovations in theories of ideology, subjectivity and language, and has exerted an important (some would say definitive) influence on the shaping of post-modernist and post-structuralist ideas and [...] on postcolonial studies' (Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 34). It should be mentioned that Said, after his deployment of Foucauldian thought in *Orientalism*, slowly shifted away from French post-structuralism. This shift is perhaps exemplified by his concern with what he calls, in *Culture and Imperialism*, the 'universalizing techniques' of current Western academic theory (Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), p. 234).

³⁵ As Sara Mills writes, summarising Morris and Patton, "Foucault's work does not form a system," it is "not a consistent theory" and "it is a patchwork of studies which ... may produce something resembling a pattern, but in which no single rule governs the move from one piece to the next" (Meaghan Morris and Paul Patton quoted in Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 7).

grand apparatus of entrenched prejudice that has gained common currency in our culture. For an inherited concept like that of the Balkans, his work helps us 'to know how and to what extent it might be possible to think differently, instead of legitimating what is already known'.³⁶

The genealogical conjunction of power and knowledge, although associated with the relatively short middle period of his work, is perhaps Foucault's best known concept, and one by which he himself would reinterpret his earlier 'archaeology' of the 1960s.³⁷ In a work like *The Order of Things* (1966), his greatest expression of the archaeological method, Foucault was concerned with what he perceived as the unconscious conceptual strata underlying discourse - the episteme, as he termed it, or the historical *a priori* - which through creating a self-contained code of rules for knowledge formation would govern intellectual activity and cultural production, and thereby produce a high degree of regularity within and between intellectual disciplines. In shifting to power-knowledge in the 1970s, particular discourses were viewed less as a result of some free-floating abstraction than as very real social malignancies productive of authority and oppression. This Nietzschean premise can be seen in his studies of the institutional practices that constitute self and other. In the disciplines of medicine, psychiatry and penality, the will to knowledge that defines abnormality or delinquency also produces, in a corollary action Foucault terms 'normalisation', the various codes of behaviour which modern society accepts as customary and permissible for the individual. It proved a handier process for creating pliant, socially-useful citizens than the older, more visible forms of power issuing from the sovereign. On the one hand, the individual undergoing socialisation, faced with the threat of exclusion or incarceration, readily internalises the behavioural norms of a society; on the other hand, as Foucault argued in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), the growth in those scientific disciplines which accrued knowledge of the individual corresponded to an increasing inculcation of behavioural normalcy through public institutions. The prison was the most visible example, but through such

³⁶ Foucault, *The Uses of Pleasure, History of Sexuality, Vol. 2*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1985), p. 9.

³⁷ 'When I think back now,' Foucault said in interview in 1977, 'I ask myself what else it was that I was talking about, in *Madness and Civilisation* or *The Birth of the Clinic*, but power?'; Foucault, 'Truth and Power', in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, new ed., ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, et al (1980; Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1980), p. 115. His focus on power was later overshadowed by 'problematization', although in my reading it remains central.

burgeoning technologies as the school, the military and the factory, the process of penalty became the symbol, and model, for a modern 'carceral' society that controlled a population through the integrated mechanisms of ordering, surveillance and punishment. It was a bleak perspective on the nature of modern society. With all discourse being linked to a will to power, it was also a bleak perspective on knowledge formation: as Foucault said, 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations'.³⁸

The point has been found to have direct relevance to the knowledge gleaned and distributed by the texts of British colonialism. The circulation of power-knowledge issuing from cross-cultural representation is not an issue covered in Foucault's work, and one may speculate on the alterations to his theory of power which would have resulted from its inclusion. In particular, Foucault's sense of the dispersal of power in the modern state, its non-hierarchical condition of emergence and distribution, may have undergone modification. For with non-western culture one is again in the presence of a marginalised body whose function - not dissimilar to the functions of the mad or delinquent - is to establish that primary dichotomy of civilisation and savagery that inculcates behavioural norms in the home population, and denies any merit to the experience of the marginalised category.³⁹ Yet at the same time, whereas the construction of madness or delinquency works to normalise individual behaviour, cross-cultural representation also produces normalcy within the wider structures of the nation-state, and does so in an incontrovertibly hierarchical fashion. In particular, I will be arguing that the binary logic underpinning representation serves to sanction the political norms of the West: through evoking the spirit of radical otherness in a foreign culture, centred on chaos, violence,

³⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, new ed., trans. Alan Sheridan, (1975; London: Penguin, 1991), p. 27. Eagleton sums things up nicely: 'Discourse, sign-systems and signifying practices of all kinds [...] produce effects, shape forms of consciousness and unconsciousness, which are closely related to the maintenance or transformation of our existing systems of power' (Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1983), p. 210).

³⁹ As Sarup explains, 'Dichotomies are exercises in power and at the same time their disguise. They split the human world into a group for whom the ideal order is to be erected, and another which is for the unfitting, the uncontrollable, the incongruous and the ambivalent' (Madan Sarup, 'The Meanings of Home and the Politics of Place', in George Robertson, et al, eds., *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 101).

backwardness, poverty, the cultural representations of the Western travel text produce justification for the economic and political mores - democracy, capitalism, liberalism - which underlie Western society, entrenching the form of power in currency in that society, and also valorising the position of dominance this power assumes in the geo-political arena.

The interaction of representation and power does not stop there. Once the collusion with power is established, travel writing can attain a second level of complicity with the political hierarchy, particularly during those periods when the ideological climate is suffused by the rhetoric of imperial desire. The denigration of a culture through representation, like the constructions of racial theory or religious belief, has frequently formed 'buttresses of colonial and post-colonial power',⁴⁰ with the styles of representation constructing a geographical zone that invites economic, political and territorial domination. The study of such representation is a pursuit which colonial discourse theory had made its own, and an attempt to summarise its exposure of the diverse ways that travel literature has charted such regions as Asia, Africa, the Orient and the Americas for the purposes of colonial expansion is not possible here.⁴¹ Nevertheless, amongst the multiple expressions that power achieves, a few basic trends can be located. Whether by way of invitation, or justification after the event, the emphasis has been on the underdevelopment of resources, thinness of population, economic and cultural backwardness, social turbulence, political chicanery, moral laxity, lethargy and servitude. The various attributes combine to evoke the widespread absence of political, administrative and commercial structure, which, according to the logic of binarism, contrasts to the civilisational achievement, or potential, of the imperial homeland. It is in this (un)stated linkage of Old World capability with New World

⁴⁰ James Duncan and David Ley, 'Introduction: Representing the Space of Culture', in Duncan and Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation*, p. 6.

⁴¹ Brian Musgrove offers a useful summary of the centrality of travel writings to the study of colonialism in his contribution to Clark's *Travel Writing and Empire* (1999). His sense, however, that 'it is virtually impossible to consider travel writing outside the frame of post-colonialism' is one I hope to challenge in this dissertation (see Musgrove, 'Travel and Unsettlement: Freud on Vacation', in Steve Clark, ed., *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1999), p. 32).

inadequacy that the general thrust of representation, through its intricate, flexible pattern of denigration, 'spins webs of colonising power'.⁴²

The startling correspondence between such representational practices and those of British travel writing on the Balkans should automatically alert us to the workings of imperial power in the latter. The specific accusations of political and social underdevelopment, human iniquity, even regional 'underpopulation', along with the broader charges of chaos, savagery and backwardness, have all been deployed in the construction of the Balkans, and to my mind reveal the existence of a political/economic ambition more clearly than the most assiduous trek through the pages of British diplomatic history. The mere lack of colonial realisation should not blind us to the possibilities of either colonial desire or imperial achievement. The textual practices of denigration unearthed by postcolonial studies are traces of state power and its strategies, not of colonialism per se, and are as likely to be found in the power struggles within Europe as in those between Western Europe and its distant colonies. In focusing on the machinations of the state in this way, I am aware of a certain departure from Foucault's much less centralised understanding of power. While borrowing freely from genealogical methodology, however, I neither feel the obligation to maintain theoretical loyalty in the presence of a very different discourse, nor wish to underemphasise what I view as the uncanny ability of the western state to draw to itself power that it has not originated. The aptitude of centralised power gains clarity once one turns to the particular political benefits the British state has drawn from cultural representations of the Balkans. There are two dynamics at work in the text, corresponding to what we might call, for brevity's sake, binarism and imperial desire, a dual mechanism which has traditionally informed travel writing on the colonies and which, apart from two important periods I shall detail below, have also been maintained by British travellers in the Balkans from the time of their earliest writings on the region to the present day.

The function of binarism, firstly, cannot be overestimated when considering the power derived from the British invention of the place it terms the 'Balkans.' So powerful is the influence of binary logic that I would argue the balkanist paradigm is conditioned not by any attribute within the region but by opposition to competing versions of the

⁴² James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 'Introduction' to Duncan and Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage*, p. 3.

British collective identity, the very reason that the styles and constructions of autobiographical self-definition will form such a major theme of the dissertation.⁴³ For a general outline of such definition, the passage from Jan and Cora Gordon acts as an effective reminder. In the majority of historical and journalistic accounts of south-east Europe, the dominant attributes of autobiographical Britishness - or Englishness, to be more precise - gain only marginal presence in the text, being an implied ideal which informs, though rarely intrudes upon, depictions of the geographical object. In travel writing, more usefully, the self-image is given essential prominence: at the station at Brod, for example, a synecdochic Englishness, essentialised in the second person pronoun, appears within the landscape, and steps around the platform exhibiting as systematic a range of attributes as the tropes of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation that it confronts. Bewildered by its arrival amid disorder, panicked by the presence of squalor and violence, determined nonetheless to elucidate information through 'deduction' and 'judgement', this personification of British mores reveals itself as a personage of order, progress, clarity, rationality who is not about to stand for any local impudence, a subject-position which seventy years later Russell - in a more common medium for Englishness - would reactivate in his autobiographical self-portrait. And in this sense, the Gordons' reference to 'blackest gloom', and Russell's 'night, thick, cloying', become more than just temporal markers in the narratives. These are the representatives of enlightened modernity, sober and rational men and women who enter an alien zone where ('since no gleam of lamp relieves the darkness') the illumination of Enlightenment progress has never penetrated.

With regard to the power derived from this opposition, it is significant indeed that travel to the Balkans began to flourish shortly after the eighteenth-century *philosophes*. The period was one in which the ideals that define modern Western society were finding formulation, and which would solidify during the Victorian era into the configurations of clarity, order, progress and rationality. As Larry Wolff reminds us, the term 'civilisation', that cultural construct around which this list of notions would revolve, was itself an

⁴³ My premise here will be that there is nothing within the autobiographical text that does not emerge from the autobiographer's sense of self. As Rawlinson writes, the very process of '[t]urning the contingent into narrative is an act of self-definition' (Mark Rawlinson, *British Writing of the Second World War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 183).

Enlightenment neologism;⁴⁴ in order to invent this Western civilisation, and in order to gauge the progress by which it judged itself, the hostile qualities of chaos, backwardness, savagery, themselves strictly conditioned by the terms defining Western superiority, were displaced onto other geographical zones to be found and brought back to the colonial metropolis by travellers, adventurers and colonists. It was an ideological mapping of the globe for which the emergent division between Western and Eastern Europe was not only timely, but which provided, in the shape of the Balkans, one of the West's most vital points of reference. South-east Europe represented, after all, a very fertile conjunction: the colonised status, the lack of western-style development, the hostile ideologies of Islam and later communism, combined with the region's very geographical proximity, evoked an otherness that was somehow more poignant than far-flung colonies or Third World empires. The Balkans were, like Foucault's societal others, on the very ground of Europe, but this was a Europe gone horribly wrong. As Russell and the Gordons demonstrate, British travellers would find in the region such a stark combination of similarity and difference that it was as if the reverse side of their enlightened modernity had risen up to haunt them. And in this lies the intrinsic value of the Balkans for the maintenance of Western power. In constructing an other that exists within the boundaries of Europe, viewed even today as a realm of terror and totalitarianism, a realm apparently 'motivated [...] by a mysterious congenital bloodthirstiness',⁴⁵ travel writing on the Balkans issues a firm warning about relinquishing the structures of Western 'democracy': abandon our customs of law and governance, the knowledge of travel writing tells us, and here is the appalling outcome in European context.

This is not to say, of course, that collusion with authority is a premeditated, or even a deliberate, decision on the part of travellers. It is rather an example of that curious circularity of power which, while not issuing from a centrally located source, infuses the

⁴⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp. 12-13. Yapp also writes of Enlightenment binarism: 'It was the contrast with Asian despotism which enabled Montesquieu to draw out the features which made Europe what it was: law, morality, aristocracy, monarchy and liberty. In Montesquieu's writings one finds expressed clearly, perhaps for the first time, the notion of Europe as a geographical, cultural, political and intellectual entity with its own history and its own distinctive features' (Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish Mirror', p. 147). Interestingly, the Ottoman image of Enlightenment 'Europe' until the nineteenth century was just as bad (see *Ibid.*, p. 140).

⁴⁵ Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804-1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London: Granta, 1999), p. 661.

culture from which the traveller emerges, channelling in turn the utterances of travel text and thereby entrenching the power from which the utterances began. In this contained process, power asks little of a locale like the Balkans; except, perhaps, that it occasionally behaves 'in character'. Instead, the discourse derives its dynamic from that collective self-image that has formed, developed, hardened, and returned with stubborn persistence to police the representations of self and other. In the case of south-east Europe, it should be stressed, the social and theoretical developments of the late-twentieth century not only failed to reduce the otherness that surrounds it, but made that otherness more critical than ever, for with the Cold War having come to an end, and Islam having failed until recently as a significant other to the British self,⁴⁶ there is a sense that some new version of the old continental antitheses was absolutely necessary: not 'democratic Western Europe and a Communist Eastern Europe,' as Robert Kaplan mentions, but simply 'Europe and the Balkans.'⁴⁷ And this is the dichotomy upon which recent commentators have set to work. Enigmatic, invidious, frightening, the Eastern Bloc has re-entered the British imagination via a constructed south-east Europe whose poverty, war, massacre and threats of refugeeism has proved as efficacious as communism for driving adherence to authority and national boundaries deep within the British psyche. It may well be that the recent shift in focus onto Afghanistan, El Qaida and international terrorism will mean the Balkans become superceded as the West's symbolic opposite. Yet with its status outside any clear racial or political prejudice, balkanism has certainly furnished us with a remarkably durable other which, for the last ten years of post-Cold War history, from the demise of the communist adversary to the rise of 'global terror', preserved the fear of alterity in western European populations.

The creation of loyalty to particular social and political structures demonstrates that the workings of power are, as Foucault was at pains to stress, far from merely

⁴⁶ Turner has written that 'with the collapse of communism and the erosion of the traditional cold-war politics of the post-war period, Islam may well function as a substitute for the dangers represented by a communist menace' (Bryan S. Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 183). I do not believe this was achieved in Britain until the response by its government and media to the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.

⁴⁷ Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*, new ed. (1993; London and Basingstoke: Papermac, 1994), p. 48. Despite its apparent lack of pertinence for postcolonial studies, Chantal Mouffe usefully reminds us that the Cold War 'democracy/totalitarianism opposition' was one of the principal methods by which the West defined itself after 1945; Mouffe, 'For a Politics of Nomadic Identity', in George Robertson, *et al*, eds., *Travellers' Tales*, p. 105.

restrictive. This productive energy is most clearly seen in our second dynamic of power which finds sustenance through the genre of Balkan travel - that of imperial desire. Here, one can perceive an emergent political collusion that is as systematic in its way as the literary representations of France, Austria and Russia during their colonial expansions in the region.⁴⁸ In saying this, I do not wish to suggest that through history there have been no internal causes for crises in the Balkans or that indigenous discourse is itself bereft of responsibility; what I am arguing, simply, is that there is a direct link between textual representation and those interests that have both defined British engagement in the Balkans and produced, with cruel paradox, much of the chaos and discord by which Britain has characterised the region. Such engagement has remained unchecked throughout the period under study. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, political and commercial interest led to British support for Austrian and Ottoman colonialism in the peninsula, a support which, while largely conducted by diplomacy, did not eschew the direct colonial pursuits of military engagement or administration of territorial populations. After 1914, fidelity to Empire was exchanged for an intricate pattern of loyalties to the indigenous states. Despite the apparent indifference to the region displayed at Moscow in 1944,⁴⁹ the two world wars established military alliances in the Balkans that continued after 1945 in the shape of economic support for dictatorships standing against Moscow, and after 1989 in the shape of assistance to regimes that most ensured the Western blueprint for post-Cold War Europe. To these specific political ends, the style of representation subsisting during a certain historical period has a dual function. On the one hand, representation can lend direct support for a particular form of political interference, as I outline in some detail below. On the other hand, such balkanist motifs as chaos, backwardness and savagery, and the unbridgeable civilisational gulf they evoke, produce an essential distance between the two geographical poles of Europe that has frequently disguised both the fact and consequence of British interference, and disguised them with extraordinary success.

This, in summary, is the general scope of the thesis: through adopting from postcolonialism the three theoretical precepts of enculturation, cultural binarism and

⁴⁸ See Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 62-88.

⁴⁹ I am referring to Churchill's and Stalin's decision to divide eastern Europe between the two 'blocs', thereby establishing many of the geographical co-ordinates of the Cold War in Europe: see Chapter 5, pp. 266-7.

power-knowledge I hope to expose the deep workings of geo-political power behind the British concept of the Balkans. Yet however useful the adoption might prove, I am aware of a lingering problem. Such is the extraordinary tenacity of popular preconceptions of the Balkans that one familiar with the British media coverage of recent events may well accept the subjectivity of representation in general, and accept that imperialist consideration still governs the British relationship to abroad, yet remain convinced nonetheless that chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation are the defining characteristics of the Balkans. Indeed, there may be some doubt as to whether the postmodern climate - to paraphrase Foucault - will allow us to think any differently. In literary circles particularly, chaos, conspiracy, corruption and social fragmentation have become articles of faith, cynically deployed to account for both eastern and western experience, and, despite their universalising implication, gradually restricting alternative viewpoints from the fund of available knowledge. In fact, postmodern despair has assumed such an air of obviousness over the last ten years that it seems we have also succumbed to the 'the common sense of an age', in Norman Hampton's phrase, however much 'the 'obvious' is an historical product that evolves in time.'⁵⁰ In the face of this, how can one illustrate that element of choice that lies behind representation? To what extent can a region like south-east Europe be shorn of its cluster of negative attributes? How are the Balkans, in other words, not '*the Balkans*'? For those less affected by postmodern scepticism, there are several possible avenues to explore in a material, rather than textual, direction. The repeated imperial interventions of the Western powers, refuting their supposed distance from the Balkans, could certainly source much of the latter's turbulence in the West rather than any indigenous tendency towards violence and mayhem. Similarly, a more general survey of Western behaviour during the twentieth-century, with its history of world war, holocaust and imperial aggression, would considerably temper the Balkans' reputation as 'the cut-throat part of Europe'.⁵¹ At the same time, one could question the actual historical presence in the region of the characteristics it is accused of, with Stevan Pavlowitch being just one historian amongst many who argues that, particularly before the First World War, 'its history is no more

⁵⁰ Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment*, new ed. (1968; London: Penguin, 1990), p. 145.

⁵¹ John Foster Fraser, *Pictures from the Balkans*, new ed. (1906; London: Cassell and Co., 1912), p. 205.

turbulent than that of any other part of Europe'.⁵² Then again, there is always the frank implausibility of any essentialisation of a region. One need not adopt a historicist argument to undermine an unremittingly denigratory representation of south-east Europe in which a leader like Milošević, for example, or war like that in Bosnia, can be confidently labelled as a 'Balkan dictator', or a 'Balkan conflict', as if the very worst characteristics of the region could stand in as evidence for a wider, more deep-seated, calumny.⁵³

As fertile as such avenues may prove, however, the thesis will remain within poststructuralist methodologies of textual analysis. In particular, I am interested in the strategy of dismantling a conceptual structure from within, rather than resorting to some epistemological certainty drawn in from without, a strategy for which Foucault's work stands as exemplar. For Foucault, after his dalliance with origin in *Madness and Civilisation* (1961), there was no zero point, or primordial truth, in Western history against which the mendacity of discourse could be gauged, 'no prediscursive providence which disposes the world in our favour',⁵⁴ merely a shifting pattern of discourse in which, at some point or other, one would take up a position. In order to weaken the energies of discourse, therefore, he turned instead to what we might consider a method of internal contrast. Maintaining a focus on the conceptual structure, Foucault sought out its internal point of difference, drawing out the nature of its theoretical instability, and thereby weakening the sense of integrity and self-evidence that surrounds the concept. In the archaeological work, such contrast took a diachronic form, focusing on those stark, irrational discontinuities that affect discourse in its change through time in order to evidence both the irrationality of our current formulation and its non-evolutionary progress towards 'truth.' In the later genealogy, his method altered only

⁵² Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans, 1804-1945* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 1.

⁵³ It is interesting to note, on this point, that the geographically- or culturally-specific concept of the 'West' or the 'Western' has tended to gain only positive reification within its own discourse. To my knowledge, Ireland has never been termed a 'Western conflict' in the way Bosnia is termed a 'Balkan conflict', or indeed Hitler a 'Western dictator' or the holocaust an instance of 'Western bloodthirstiness'. The frequently pejorative usage of 'Western' and the 'West' in postcolonialism may well change all this, as I mention below.

⁵⁴ '[W]e must not imagine', Foucault adds, 'that the world turns towards us a legible face which we would have only to decipher.' See Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', in Robert Young, ed., *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (Boston, London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 67.

slightly. While retaining a measure of diachrony to evidence non-progression, Foucault developed a closer awareness of synchronic diversity within a period, unearthing a multiplicity of competing positions within sites of discourse, each based on an erratic logic of accident, error, ambivalence and inconsistency.

It is this deconstructive strategy which is so useful for revealing the elements of chance and discrepancy behind the British concept of the Balkans, and which offers a medium through which the wider theory informing my understanding of that concept can be brought to bear on the texts.⁵⁵ I differ from Foucault only in that my exposure of the heterogeneity of balkanist discourse will focus solely on the episteme of the modern period; the two centuries, that is, since the close of the eighteenth century, which for Foucault have been grounded in historicism and the 'sciences of man', and for critics of cross-cultural representation in the practices of post-Enlightenment binarism. By bringing the strategies of internal contrast to bear on the period, however, I hope to show the contingent nature of representation even as it works within a single historical *a priori*. In so doing, I hope not to replace historical study - which my use of Foucault might suggest - but to supplement such study by exposing the profound internal inconsistencies and ruptures of a geographical concept which historicism, in fact, has helped to formulate. The strategy of synchronic contrast, for example, reveals startling discrepancy within both genre and individual text, with travellers who journeyed at the same time, and along the same routes, using the configurations of Enlightenment thought to produce discourses that both supported and challenged the official construction of the Balkans, despite the same social conditions they were experiencing. In terms of diachronic contrast within the modern period, similarly, I wish to show how an episteme can itself be divided into minor periods, or sub-epistemes, in which discourse comes to be expressed by dominant group of texts. This group of texts, expressing what T.S. Kuhn

⁵⁵ The location of discursive instability has been used in previous studies of cross-cultural representation. For example, Peter Hulme, in his study of western constructions of the Caribbean, is concerned with those moments 'where the text stutters in its articulation', and Ali Behdad's study of orientalism highlights what he calls textual 'noise', that is, an emergence in the text of 'the unconscious and repressed expression of the Other's discourse'. See Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p. 12; and Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Cork: Cork University Press/Duke University Press, 1994), p. 84. For a summary of the heterogeneity of cross-cultural discourse see Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1991), pp. ix-x, 1-10.

terms a 'dominant representational paradigm',⁵⁶ has undergone profound transformation through the modern period, in which different styles of representation have gained ascendancy at different times, interconnecting with differing sources of power, and responding to shifts in how the West has viewed itself, as well as in shifts in the aesthetic practices and thematic concerns of literature.

The uses of internal contrast, and the manner in which it can question our essentialised concept of the Balkans, becomes clearer through a brief summary of what I locate as the three major sub-epistemes in the modern genealogy of the concept. The first, which is outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, covers 1850 to the outbreak of the First World War,⁵⁷ and was the first era of denigratory balkanism, when the motifs of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation prevailed, and when representation was closely bound up with British diplomacy, trade and investment in the region. The second sub-episteme, detailed in Chapters 3 and 4, is the contrary mode of signification: that is, the romantic, idealistic mode that stretched from 1914 to the late Cold War era, and that Rebecca West's work exemplifies. As I shall discuss, the important point here is that this discursive shift is not so much a diachronic break with the nineteenth century, than a new alignment of synchronic patterns of negative and positive representations which existed in both periods. Frederic Jameson argues 'that radical breaks between periods do not generally involve complete changes of content but rather the restructuring of a certain number of elements already given: features that in an earlier period or system were subordinate now become dominant, and features that had been dominant again become

⁵⁶ See T.S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Foucault's theory of discourse will be preferred in the thesis to Kuhnian paradigms due to the focus of the former on power and knowledge.

⁵⁷ I shall take the mid-nineteenth-century as a convenient starting point. This was a moment at which, on the one hand, the retreat of the Ottoman Empire, and the corresponding growth of both Balkan nationalism and Great Power intrigue in the region, produced a surge of interest in the region from British travellers; and, on the other hand, the Victorian consolidation of Enlightenment value systems had meant the emerging flood of travelogues observed, and nourished, that binary logic through which Britain was perceiving the globe. This is also the moment when the Balkans shift from being merely a *route* to Istanbul and Asia to being a *destination* in themselves (contrast, for example, Kinglake's treatment of the region in 1844 (A.W. Kinglake, *Eothen*, new ed. (1844; London: John Lehmann, 1948), p. 38) to those of the mid-Victorians). As Tozer mentions, new steamer and rail routes in Europe also meant that the Balkans had become less important as a route (Henry Fanshawe Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey [etc.]*, 2 Vols. (London: John Murray, 1869), I, 1-2).

secondary.’⁵⁸ This is certainly true of modern balkanism, in which complimentary representation, as I term it, always existed as a subordinate mode, particularly in the Victorian tendency to choose pet nations to champion, but moved to prominence for much of the twentieth century, when peasant culture, folk costume, village superstition and perceived medievalism, all those features of the ‘travelled environment’⁵⁹ that for many justified denigration, were now a source of unparalleled delight. Certainly, such primitivism can be read as condescending, the conventional interpretation in postcolonial studies. What I wish to explore, however, is the extent to which complimentary representation, with its frequent links to the discourses of nationalism, romanticism and communism, forms a sort of counter-discourse, not only supportive of the indigenous social and state systems, but also highly critical of the western creeds of progress, capitalism and Empire. I shall then move, finally, to a study of the contemporary period. After outlining in Chapter 5 the gradual dwindling of romanticisation during the Cold War, Chapter 6 will examine the extraordinary return in the 1990s to the old discursive tropes of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, and, significantly, the reduction of complimentary representation to such a subordinate position that the paradigm approaches homogeneity. Naturally, the period is the most vital in this ‘history of the present’,⁶⁰ as Foucault would have termed the enterprise. For this reason, I place particular focus on a discussion of both the complicity that postmodern representation has had with the structures of western power, and the ways in which the constructions by British and American⁶¹ travel writers of a supposedly innate social and moral depravity in the Balkans conceals the involvement the West has had in many of the current crises.

I have mentioned that the increasing homogenisation of south-east Europe in British representation is significant. There seems no doubt that a loss of synchronic discontinuity occurs after 1945, firstly in an eradication of the pet hate of the inter-war period, and thence a loss of the favoured nation after the 1980s, processes assisting in

⁵⁸ Jameson, ‘Postmodernism and Consumer Society’, in Peter Brooker, ed., *Modernism/Postmodernism* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), p. 177.

⁵⁹ Cocker’s phrase: Mark Cocker, *Loneliness and Time: British Travel Writing in the Twentieth Century* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1994), p. 196.

⁶⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 31.

⁶¹ I shall expand my focus to include greater analysis of American travelogues on the Balkans in Chapter 6, concerned as I am less with a specifically British mode of representation than with the general circulation of English language representation that travel writers and their readership are absorbing.

the current production of a unified, irredeemably bleak cultural space where goodness or virtue have no existence. Yet as I hope this brief survey of the modern period has shown, the diachronic multiplicity of representation since 1850 and the synchronic heterogeneity of all sub-epistemes indicate that the British conception of the Balkans is far from the univocal discourse one might have expected. Certainly, representations all occur within the structures of Enlightenment thought (with even later, postmodernist texts drawing on Enlightenment binarism, if only to negate the positive pole in the binary). Yet despite this limitation, such structures still allow the fundamental choice of either denigration or idealisation of the Balkans, and that choice has in turn facilitated what seems to me the region's role as a site of contestation for Western ideologies, a kind of symbolic geography, or a scripted zone, that may have once formed a blank sheet for travel writers but which has since been written over with corrections, citations, borrowings, rewrites, and a whole host of substantial erasures, a place upon which to make one's mark is also to stake one's claim to a wider political position. The point is made by commenting further on the links between balkanism and other signifying practices, such as the nationalism and romanticism that I mentioned above. A cross-cultural discourse, this collection of images, motifs, and evaluations through which the cultural other is constructed,⁶² is not hermetically sealed from the welter of discourses that circulate around it, but finds its images, motifs, emphases and evaluations in perpetual relationship with other discourses, influencing them and being influenced in turn. For balkanism, such

⁶² My usage of 'discourse' is informed by Stuart Hall's lucid definition of the term: 'Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic or practice: a cluster (or *formation*) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. These *discursive formations*, as they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity; what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and 'true' in that context; and what sorts of persons or 'subjects' embody its characteristics' (Hall, 'Introduction' to Hall, ed., *Representation*, p. 6. Terdiman defines 'discourses' as 'a culture's determined and determining structures of representation and practice [...] which provide a culture with its understanding of itself and define its encounter with the world confronting it' (Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 12-3). This notion of discourse is close to Stephen Heath's definition of 'representation': 'Representation is at once an image given, an argument made and a deputation established, a construction of object, me and other. Representation, to put it another way, includes my position, my desire and its vicissitudes' (Heath, quoted in Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, p. 13).

discourses would include the literary/philosophical discourses of empiricism, romanticism, modernism and postmodernism, and the social/political discourses of racialism and colonialism, nationalism, communism and, at the end of the twentieth century, neo-imperialism, all influencing, altering, splintering and finally fashioning balkanist practice into a kind of conceptual chaos. In this play of signification, British balkanism over the past century and a half seems not just unstable, but also ambivalent, obscurantist and contradictory, offering no more than a confused and profoundly non-evolutionary narrative which instead of leading us resolutely towards a truth has merely returned us, in a final exhaustion of options, to the point from whence we began. It is this fundamental contingency that the dissertation will aim to locate and analyse.

SECTION ONE



1850-1914

CHAPTER ONE

THE DISCOURSE OF BALKANISM

In the late 1830s, during the era of Britain's imperialism of free trade, a small fleet of British craft landed on an overgrown, inhospitable shore. The coastal plain, though wild, was a celebrated source of game, and intending to sail to a nearby British dependency with a respectable bag, the party unloaded guns, ammunition and supplies, and left the fleet under the protection of a man-of-war. Then, as it spread out amongst the surrounding inlets and marshes, the hunt was sorely interrupted. The inhabitants of 'that barbarous country', well known for their 'distrust, savage ferocity, and murder', appeared before them, and within a wild 'cloud of skirmishes', a number of charged stand-offs were required before the English could make further 'acquisitions of shooting territory'. Admittedly, the incident, when set against the century's wider imperial abuses, seems to contain little of note. The activity was typical for soldiers of their generation, the vanquishing of 'semi-barbarians' was common, and with British colonialism being established on such pioneer exploits their imperious command of territory and disdainful treatment of indigenes were being repeated through the British portions of the globe. Perhaps the only cause for surprise is that this invasion, this 'shewing fight' as one of them calls it, was not pursued in the far-flung reaches of Empire, but in Albania, eighty miles from Italy, towards the very heart of Europe.¹

Although not intended as genuine attempts at territorial gain, J.J. Best's forays into the Balkans from British-held Corfu, described in his *Excursions in Albania* (1842), perfectly illustrate the kind of adventure and self-aggrandisement the British traveller achieved in south-east Europe. From the early nineteenth century to the first few decades of the twentieth, the region formed an apparently unregulated, emancipatory zone where,

¹ J.J. Best, *Excursions in Albania; Comprising a Description of the Wild Boar, Deer, and Woodcock Shooting in that Country; and a Journey from Thence to Thessalonica and Constantinople, and up the Danube to Pest* (London: W.H. Allen, 1842), pp. 93, 93, 59, 65, 63, 49.

despite the on-going rule of the Ottoman and Austrian empires, travellers could find almost unlimited scope for personal apotheosis. Here, consuls, reporters, militarists, adventurers and old colonial hands, during terms of employment or periods of vacation, played out imperial fantasies of discovery, exploration and domination, achieving a perceived mastery over the environment which they then reproduced and relived in journals of spirited prose. This process of imagined colonialism, as I shall term it, could be performed in different ways and to a variety of different extremes. At times, so great were the travellers' imaginings of power that their texts, like Best's, attain the style and structure of invasion narratives, as reiterated by Robert Dunkin's fantasy of territorial appropriation during a Dalmatian hunting tour of the 1890s. On occasion, the assumptions and representations suitable for colonial imagining could, through complicity with the local colonial authorities, derive from a very real position of power, as seen in Valentine Baker's command of indigenous troops during the Russo-Ottoman war in Bulgaria. Often, such imagined colonialism would simply entail a conquest through factual accumulation, the travel writer assuming, like William Le Queux in his journeys across the peninsula, a confident, wholly self-congratulatory intellectual mastery over the environment.² Yet whatever the exact form their journeys and journals took, British responses to the peoples of the region, and the modes of representation such responses engendered, were all grounded in a British drive for absolute supremacy on the one hand, and the Balkans' responsibility to respect that supremacy on the other.

The relationship the British achieved with the host cultures of south-east Europe is - I contend - inseparable from the century's wider imperialistic stance. Empire was a guiding issue of the age, and a significant cause for the Victorian's assured relationship to the wider world. In the wake of its victory in the Napoleonic Wars, the nation was already surging with unbridled confidence, dominant in the internal affairs of Europe and unchallenged in a vastly expanding empire that already straddled the globe. Although any rigid periodisation of the phenomenon is unworkable, such supremacy tended to develop in the first half of the century more as a prop to British trade than as a desire for annexation, a sort of laissez-faire imperialism that was happy to expand the market for the nation's burgeoning industry, and thereby extend its political influence, but remained

² See Robert Dunkin ['Snaffle'], *In the Land of the Bora* (1896), Valentine Baker, *War in Bulgaria* (1879) and William Le Queux [Anon], *An Observer in the Near East* (1907).

highly suspicious of assuming the costs and responsibilities of direct territorial governance. By the 1850s, the decade I have chosen as my point of departure, the emphasis was slowly beginning to change. The fears caused by Russian ambition in the middle east and rebellions like the Indian Mutiny within the empire, compounded by the emergence of the ambitious, united powers of Italy and Germany over the following decade and a half, led to a new belligerence in imperial strategy. The growing challenge to Britain's monopoly, it was argued, necessitated a more vigorous protection of national interests that only the occupation of foreign territories, and closer 'proprietaryship' of those territories, could deliver. The accelerated expansionism under Disraeli and Gladstone was the result, a predatory mixture of military might and economic opportunism which - epitomised by the infamous 'Scramble for Africa' - continued unabated from the 1870s to the outbreak of the First World War and beyond.³ This 'new imperialism' had little resort to the moral apologism of the earlier part of the century, but was marked by a wave of jingoism and triumphalism that pervaded all spheres of public life, from national celebrations to the music hall, the popular press to poetry, state pageantry to postcards, cigarette cards, board-games and children's books, all combining to fashion a new, muscular breed of imperialist whose expectation of abroad revolved around the few notions of duty, glory and national fulfilment.⁴

³ Prestige and profit were only the most obvious example of what Cook calls 'the multitude of factors' - technological advances, emigration, public opinion - that encouraged occupation and overshadowed the continuing arguments for an 'imperialism of free trade' after 1870: see Scott B. Cook, *Colonial Encounters in the Age of High Imperialism* (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1996), p. 23.

⁴ Grewal writes: 'knowledge of colonized and colonizable cultures was [...] absorbed [...] in various ways through travel books, exhibitions, newspaper accounts of politics and imperial ventures, childrens' books, didactic and "improvement" literature; the list of ways in which the empire became a part of the British imaginary was endless' (Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 87). In the literary context, Rutherford captures the mood of the times when he writes: 'The imaginary Englishman with his stiff upper lip and masterly control over world affairs was invented [...] in the years between 1870 and the outbreak of the First World War. This period saw the appearance of hundreds of boys' adventure stories, eulogising Britain's empire builders. Life for the fictitious imperial hero was a series of opportunities to exercise his prowess and demonstrate his supremacy over foreigners [...]' (Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), p. 12. Green claims 'that the adventure tales that formed the light reading of Englishmen for two hundred years and more [...] were, in fact, the energizing myth of English imperialism' (Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), p. 3). On the centrality of literature to nineteenth-century notions of self and other, see also Gayatri C. Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', in Moore-Gilbert, et al, eds., *Postcolonial Criticism*, p. 146).

One of the most significant features of this intensification of ambition is the framework of personal training that underpinned imperial interest. Along with a morally and physically invigorated national stock, the business of mastering colonial territories demanded a capable and confident ruling class, and it was the Victorian public school that came to supply it. As part of a widespread process of 'cultural institution-making',⁵ as Brian Doyle has termed it, public schooling was transformed into an ideal training ground for careers in the foreign service, with a curriculum inculcating in generations of colonial clerks, clergymen, administrators and military officers the ideals of patriotism and racial superiority suitable for an expanding imperial race. At the same time, the school system aimed to incite identification with those gentlemanly attributes of Englishness - courage, duty, diligence, practicality, common sense, manliness, stoicism, fair play - that were necessary both for 'governing turbulent mutinous colonies' and - so it was hoped - for 'impress[ing] the colonised':⁶ for instilling by example the virtues of discipline, loyalty and respect for law. Importantly, Britain's global sphere of interest, and by extension the sphere of activity for these young men, was not limited to the colonies. The nation certainly came to rule over a third of the world's population, but its colonies, dominions and protectorates were, as Bernard Porter suggests, merely 'the visible core of a vast structure of ascendancy [...] which stretched far beyond the empire's boundaries.'⁷ For pursuing its full range of strategic and commercial interests, Britain required a whole host of committed, loyal subjects to develop and organise non-colonised territories for national ends, and again it was the public schools producing them. If those who wrote about such a strategically significant region as the Balkans were not old colonial hands like Best,⁸ then they were Britishers born of the same social class, the same schools and the same national culture; Britons writing, in short, with the expectations and desires of the very same imperialist outlook.

Of course, a particular manner of viewing the self was not the only product of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century curriculum. Alongside its function 'as a

⁵ Doyle, *English and Englishness* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 1.

⁶ Luigi Barzini, *The Impossible Europeans* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), p. 64; Cook, *Colonial Encounters*, p. 130. Both Barzini and Cook view this extensive conditioning of the English self as the secret of Britain's success as an imperial power (see Barzini, *Ibid.*, pp. 47-54; Cook, *Ibid.*, p. 142).

⁷ Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1983*, 2nd ed. (1975; London and New York: Longman, 1984), p. 118. Porter is referring here specifically to the period 1850-1880.

⁸ Best was a captain in the 34th regiment then stationed on Corfu.

generator of imperial enthusiasm',⁹ and disseminator of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant virtue, a second kind of training was in understanding the various colonised 'others' that the public schoolboys were destined to govern. As indicated by the centrality of the classics to male education,¹⁰ a distinct style of imagining indigenous populations was necessary for reaffirming and further justifying national rule in existent or prospective colonies; the literature of ancient Greece and Rome not only indicated the greatness that was the proper expectation of the Englishman, but - through their denigration of those cultures lying outside 'civilisation' - also the exact measure of the barbarity the nation needed to overcome. 'Governors and generals', as V.G. Kiernan crystallised the issue, 'went out east with their heads stuffed with the classics, determined to find Asian rulers of the same breed as Xenophon's slippery satraps.'¹¹ It was not that there was anything new about this assimilation of ancient dichotomies: the twin poles of civilisation and barbarism had provided the mediaeval opposition between Western European kingdoms and the heathen populations encircling them, and later, during the age of exploration, the understanding of the newly discovered lands in the Americas and the South Seas again employed notions of barbarous belief and savage practice derived from the 'abiding templates' of Greece and Rome.¹² It was rather that in Victorian education, the usage became mixed with other ideologies - Evangelical Protestantism, biological racism, Social Darwinism - to construct a more intransigent ethnocentrism. Inevitably, just as the deployment of colonial training was not limited to actual colonies, so the cognitive framework currently associated with colonialism spilled over into non-colonial realms,

⁹ Rupert Wilkinson, *The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 100. As Doyle writes, 'As a crucial feature of their role in cultural reproduction, schools were expected to inculcate in the nation's children a proper sense of patriotic moral responsibility' (Doyle, *English and Englishness*, pp. 18-9).

¹⁰ See *Ibid.*, pp. 64-68; see also Christopher Stray's comprehensive *Classics Transformed* (1998).

¹¹ Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Emptre*, new ed. (1969; London: The Cresset Library, 1988), p. 3. The Classics were also central to the public school construction of imperial selfhood: Peter Parker, for instance, observes that 'as expansionism became a popular ideology, so the example of the Greeks as a warrior nation was held up for comparison. War became ennobled, Death lost its sting, Youth became an object of worship. Emasculated and prettified, the Classics provided a precedent, or an excuse, for the activities and ideals of [...] English institutions'; Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* (London: Constable, 1987), p. 99.

patterning the way such realms were represented in travel writing, journalism, fiction and history. The Balkan peninsula formed one of the most significant examples in kind: if classical dichotomies had been used for representing the far-flung corners of the globe how much more inevitable for a south-east Europe where, as late as the nineteenth century, Britons were travelling with reference to the writings of Strabo, Herodotus and Livy, and consequently encountering not just the constructed landscape of the ancients, but descendants of those very barbarian hordes that had populated their school textbooks.¹³

In a manner similar to the workings of colonial discourse, both balkanist representation and the collective identifications of its proponents were closely allied to forms of transnational power, as the bulk of this chapter will aim to illustrate.¹⁴ For the demands of British imperial policy, the region never warranted direct occupation, but drew a complex, ambiguous, shifting response whose only enduring principle was nevertheless the peninsula's absolute subordination to British interests. In this, the political trends within the peninsula itself went largely unrecognised. During the late eighteenth century, nationalism had gained a foothold in the region, finding an early success in the Greek War of Independence (1821-32) and by the 1850s had achieved dissemination in all the occupied territories via an organised network of schools, theological colleges and political and cultural societies. The growth of national feeling was of particular concern to the Ottoman empire, a vast, unwieldy edifice teetering on the brink of collapse: in 1859, its principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia had united to

¹² Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 1998), p. 105. See also Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, pp. 21, 35, 47; and Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas*, new ed. (1995; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 1-29.

¹³ As Winnifrith writes, up until the mid-nineteenth century, 'Western travellers to these parts still ha[d] to struggle with the writings of Strabo as a guidebook' (T.J. Winnifrith, *Shattered Eagles, Balkan Fragments* (London: Duckworth, 1995), p. 38). See especially J.C. Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey through Albania*, rpt ed. (1811; New York: Arno Press, the New York Times, 1971), p. 114; and Tozer, *Researches*, I, 213. Also see, James Creagh, *Over the Borders of Christendom and Eslamiah. A Journey through Hungary, Slavonia, Serbia, Bosnia [etc]*, 2 Vols. (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875), I, 278; Frederick Moore, *The Balkan Trail*, rpt ed. (1907; New York: Arno Press, the New York Times, 1971), p. 135; and Allen Upward, *The East End of Europe: The Report of an Unofficial Mission to the European Provinces of Turkey on the Eve of the Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1908), pp. 1, 5.

¹⁴ As Holland and Huggan note, '[t]ravel writing has been identified by many of its more discerning critics as a mode of colonialist discourse that reinforces [Western] European norms', and travel writing *within* Europe is no different (see Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p. 47).

form a new, stronger Romania, by the 1860s, the Montenegrins and Serbs had already gained a considerable measure of independence and in 1870 the national movement in Bulgaria was granted an autonomous church, the first step towards the recognition of statehood.¹⁵ Nevertheless, such political aspirations were, for much of the British establishment, easily overlooked. Before the uprisings of 1875, the area free of imperial rule was restricted to the central Balkans: the Ottoman Empire still held the south (Albania, Bulgaria, Rumelia, Bosnia and Kosova) while the Dual Monarchy retained the west and north (Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia and Transylvania). Even after the uprisings, which precipitated Russian intervention and the Great Power settlement at Berlin, little improved for much of the region, with southern Bulgaria being returned to Ottoman suzerainty and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the uprising began, being turned into an Austrian protectorate. In a world divided between colonised and coloniser, the Balkan region was - in the eyes of the British hierarchy - an obvious exemplar of the latter, and one therefore fit for political manipulation.

It was an inevitable corollary of such a viewpoint that Britain's major concern in the region was less with events within the Ottoman and Austrian Balkans - however horrific, and newsworthy, they proved to be - than with the effect of such events on the European balance of power. Ever since the gradual decline of Ottoman Empire, contentions over who was to assume control of the peninsula - a major feature of the so-called Eastern Question - became central to Great Power diplomacy, particularly to Anglo-Russian rivalry. Over and above the economic interests that Britain had in the region, the Ottoman Empire formed an essential guarantee of the Near and Middle Eastern routes to India, the 'brightest jewel in the imperial crown',¹⁶ and there was a gathering conviction that the integrity of the Sultan's dominion, and therefore Britain's control of India, was under threat from Russian expansionism. Romanov ambitions were of most obvious concern around central Asia and the Northern Provinces, but also within south-eastern Europe, where Russia's self-adopted role as champion of Slav and

¹⁵ For a concise summary of the period, see Pavlowitch, *History*, pp. 23-114.

¹⁶ Hobsbawm's take on Disraeli's *phrase célèbre*: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, new ed. (1987; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), p. 69. A succinct account of India's vital relevance to British trade and status is given by R. J. Moore's 'India and the British Empire', in C. C. Eldridge, ed., *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (London and Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1984), pp. 65-84.

Orthodox Christians was gaining it influence over a territory that formed, after all, the quickest route to Constantinople. It was for this reason that British policy until well into the nineteenth century was to preserve Ottoman rule wherever appropriate. In general terms, Britain checked imperial Russia through a broad system of treaties, diplomatic wrangling, military threats, and even war in the 1850s; more specifically, Britain refused to support popular uprisings, encouraged the Porte to suppress them, worked to reverse their successes and, when it was clear the Ottomans could no longer maintain hegemony, kept the territory safe from Russia by allowing it to pass to Austria. This preservation - what Lord Palmerston called, significantly, a 'kind of protectorate'¹⁷ - may not have been strictly colonial, but was based on very similar practices of territorial command and governance.

In this chapter and the next, I shall be looking at how the conceptual structure we term colonial discourse moulded itself successfully to the contours of this differing geopolitical strategy. To do so, there are several areas with which I shall engage. I will begin by analysing the primary elements of balkanist discourse, of discord, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, and how this 'interpretative framework'¹⁸ works to define the Balkans for the traveller during both the journey and the writing of the text. With the aim of locating the framework within a wider episteme, I shall consider balkanism alongside one example of colonial ideology, orientalism, outlining its points of divergence, but most importantly attempting to establish its similarities in style and import to those discourses legitimising Empire. In Chapter 2, I then study the exact function of balkanist representation, illustrating the way the travel writing being produced, circulated and consumed in the Victorian and Edwardian eras [un]consciously colluded with British diplomatic strategy in the Balkans. As part of this study, I shall also be analysing the activity and identity of the British traveller, and attempting to depict how balkanism not only conspired with the Britons' desire for personal hegemony, but also used that personal hegemony, depicted in their travel texts, to demonstrate the aptness of British dominance in general.

Chapter 2 will end by looking briefly at representational practices that worked against the dominant paradigm and preceded certain discursive changes to follow. Of

¹⁷ Lord Palmerston, quoted in A.L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923* (London and New York: Longman, 1989), p. 22.

¹⁸ David Norris's phrase: Norris, *Balkan Myth*, p. 2.

greatest concern in the section, however, is the analysis of the primary attributes of this representational paradigm which, though derived from, and intimately linked to, an imperial age, was still informing the British concept of the Balkans at the end of the twentieth century.

In both the study of colonial discourse and the study of travel writing, there has at times been a rather deficient approach to primary material. In order to gain even a preliminary sense of either subject, one requires 'a vast accumulation of source material', to borrow Foucault's phrase, and a strong 'attention to nonphilosophical and non-canonical works',¹⁹ the latter also useful for avoiding any reliance on those few texts, or *oeuvres*, in the two fields which have acquired any measure of celebrity. Yet as often as not study has been limited to such texts, and their consequent canonisation has preceded apace. To take orientalism as one example, the study of the discourse, diverging from Said's extensive reading, has trampled an increasingly worn path through the works of Burton, Lawrence, Flaubert and Nerval, rarely venturing to apply those specific cases to the general, and seemingly unaware that the limitation of study to such profoundly idiosyncratic writers should seriously impede the writer's ability to generalise either about travel writing as a genre or on orientalism as a discourse.

There are some works of cross-cultural representation, however, often obscure in authorship, that somehow manage to capture more effectively the prevailing paradigm of the age. For nineteenth and early-twentieth century balkanism, I consider H.A. Brown's *A Winter in Albania* (1888) to be one such work in kind. The journal recounts a short sojourn in the western Balkans which, while including trips through Montenegro and Kosova, mainly comprised a series of mule treks across northern Albania, a mountainous, tribal province of the Ottoman Empire whose inaccessibility had largely preserved it from Ottoman control. Brown's treatment of this sojourn perfectly illustrates the devices of

¹⁹ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 139; John Rajchman, *Michel Foucault: The Freedom of Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 99. Rajchman goes on to say that for Foucault, 'history cannot [...] be discovered through an exclusive reliance on the constitution of canonical works and their interpretations' (Ibid., p. 100).

Victorian balkanism, its primary motifs and presumptions, its points of emergence in national requirement and personal desire, as well as the detached, ironic amusement with which the Balkan landscape was often evoked. This pattern of representational attributes becomes evident in the very opening paragraph. Describing his passage from Trieste down the western shores of the Balkans, Brown remarks on what he views as the sudden lack of cultural attainment, and lack of interest, in the surroundings. 'When a beneficent Creator adorned the world with Italy,' he surmises, 'all the rubbish of that great work seems to have been shot on the opposite coast; and Istria, Dalmatia, and the adjacent islands are the result.'²⁰ A few pages later, this binarist conception is expanded significantly, with 'the more favoured countries of Europe'[14], standing in for the positive pole in the binary. As with Russell and the Gordons, the perceived landscape of the Balkan fringe becomes a symbol for absolute dichotomy between western Europe and the south-east, and forms the nucleus of a representational framework that will serve the author through the rest of the text.

The first component in this framework, the obfuscation of the Balkan region, stands as a fine example of the binarism at the heart of representational strategy. Opposed to the order and clarity of Enlightenment nations, the Balkans were sunk in a dim and obscure perplexity, a kind of perpetual, even wilful, abstruseness manifesting itself in an intrigue, invention, conspiracy, misinformation and mendacity that compounded what was seen as an already muddled political and ethnic landscape. 'Most people can form a picture of the mode of life of African savages,' wrote Martin Conway in 1908, 'But it is safe to assert that the average man understands nothing whatever about people and affairs in the Balkan Peninsula.'²¹ The penetration and textual ordering

²⁰ Brown, *A Winter in Albania* (London: Griffith, Farren, Okeden and Welsh, 1888), p. 1. As with all analyses of particular works, future page references will be included in the text. The more complimentary strains of representation in *A Winter in Albania*, including Brown's fondness for colonial architecture, I deal with below.

²¹ Conway goes on, 'Its geography is complicated. Its ethnography is confused. Its history is intricate. Its politics are inexplicable [...]. There is always something new to record, always a new subject to paint, a new problem to be explained, a new complication to disentangle' (Conway, 'Introduction' to H.C. Woods, *Washed by Four Seas: An English Officer's Travels in the Near East* (London and Leipsic: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. xiii-xiv). The ubiquitous claim that the Balkans were 'unknown' to westerners, often stated at the opening of texts, helped create the sense of obfuscation; see Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. v; J.W. Ozanne, *Three Years in Roumania* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878), p. v; Ardern G. Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years in the Near East* (London: Methuen, 1898), p. 165; Mary Adelaide Walker, *Untrodden Paths in Roumania* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), p. vii; Wadham Peacock,

of the region consequently formed one of the British traveller's most critical pastimes. While obfuscation is not the most prevalent motif in Brown's text, for example, it certainly features during his wanderings amid 'bewildering hills'[292] and 'mysterious town[s]'[29], particularly when attempting to gain hard information from the Albanians he meets. At one point, when demanding specific advice as to his route, the bewildered author sees one respondee 'waving his hand in vague semi-circles'[72], and another group gesturing in so many different directions that his 'inquiries merely resulted in quartering a large extent of the country'[71]. Such infuriating disregard of accurate fact is repeated when Brown, considering it way past breakfast time, and asking his guide when the next *khan* will appear, finds him proclaiming immediate arrival for way over an hour, a prevarication which the author considers 'brazen impudence'[203] and to which later travellers would award some variant on the ironic designation, 'Turkish time'.²² The result was that in negotiating local geography travellers were thrown back on their own resources. Brown's description of the northern Albanian town of Shkodër (for which he uses the Italian, Scutari) gives some idea of the problem they believed themselves up against:

The native quarter consists of miles of lanes running behind high stone walls, a few streets lined with shops and courtyards, numberless blind alleys, labyrinths, and designs in stone. In this quarter every house has its courtyard surrounded by a high wall, and the streets are a succession of little fortresses [...]. [30]

Albania: The Foundling State of Europe (London: Chapman and Hall, 1914), p. 5; Herbert Vivian, *Servia: The Poor Man's Paradise* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897), p. vii; Francis Kinsley Hutchinson, *Motoring in the Balkans [etc]* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 17-8.

²² William Miller, *Travels and Politics in the Near East* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 429; Miller also records the Austrian usage of "a Bosnian minute"[133]. See also Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 270; John L.C. Booth, *Trouble in the Balkans* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905), pp. 41, 166-7; H.C. Barkley, *Bulgaria Before the War: During Seven Years' Experience of European Turkey and Its Inhabitants* (London: John Murray, 1877), pp. 180-1; and Andrew Crosse, *Round About the Carpathians* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1878), p. 7. Crosse is unusual in seeing such laxity as a peasant, rather than a Balkan, characteristic, remarking on 'how loosely country-people all the world over speak of time and space'[223]. Usually, it was seen as directly opposed to western civilisation and its values: see Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, pp. 119-20, Robert Munro, *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia [etc]* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1895), p. 51, and Barkley, *Bulgaria*, p. 285.

The sense of place we receive from such a passage, exaggerated by its total exclusion of human presence, is of blank enigma. In fact, the walls, labyrinths and 'fortresses' seem almost designed to guard against the foreign gaze, tantalising the English traveller at the same time as repelling him, and pronouncing that repulsion by their concealment of the town's domestic quarters, the most intimate of local spaces. The provocation of regional topography - a feature of what others have called 'the mysterious regions of the Near East, that 'shadow-land of mystery'²³ - recurs even more clearly for Brown in the coastal town of Kotor (the Italian 'Cattaro'). 'Twisting, twining, turning, circling,' he writes, 'the streets of Cattaro resemble nothing so much as those subtle labyrinths with which schoolboy genius loves to challenge the penetrative skill and compel the admiration of its fellows'[11]. Here, in an image that could symbolise his journey as a whole, Brown finds himself faced with a cunning - though ultimately childish - conundrum, and, having risen firmly to the challenge, affirms his final victory over local obscurantism through the accumulated data and orderly insights of the text.

The most important insights to achieve were into the primary Balkan attributes of discord, savagery and backwardness, which once established as forming the region's definitive essence became somewhat necessary to find if the traveller were to be seen to arrive at the *real Balkans* beyond the fog of mystery and intrigue. Of these few attributes, perhaps the backwardness that Brown evokes at the opening is the one that most informs subsequent representation. There is barely a feature of the travelled environment which fails to connote some uncivilised, uncouth quality, and which fails to invoke, as a result, the author's amused derision. In Albanian towns, for example, houses are perceived as 'hovels'[15], inns are 'wretched'[237], shops 'primitive'[108], streets 'execrably paved'[40] and the government building a 'dilapidated pile'[28], features which combine to suggest either a crude state of nascency or, as in the case of the regional capital, the final stage of decrepitude.²⁴ This sense of the primitive increases in descriptions of the countryside, an apparent wilderness of inaccessible peaks and unfathomable mud, dotted with remote settlements beyond the control of formal law or

²³ Fanny Blunt, *My Reminiscences* (London: John Murray, 1918), p. ix, and Arthur D. Howden Smith, *Fighting the Turk in the Balkans [etc]* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), p. 2. For Lord Strangford, the Balkans were a part of 'the mendacious East': Emily Strangford, *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863. With a Visit to Montenegro* (London: Richard Bentley, 1864), p. 367.

²⁴ See Brown, *Winter in Albania*, pp. 31-2.

government. The important feature of Brown's construction of such landmarks is not his evocation of backwardness *per se*, but the air of irrationality with which he imbues them, as if the primitive conditions that surround him are signs of a wildly outlandish local mentality. The point is illustrated by his portrait of the 'horrible thoroughfares'[74] that traverse the Albanian plains. As Brown describes it, the typical road is comprised of boulders cast down to form a raised line above the land, and, 'flanked by a 10-foot ditch on one side and an 18-foot chasm on the other,' or else by 'three feet of water and two of mud on each side', Brown compares 'riding along the erection' to the laborious task of 'balancing along a large drainpipe'²⁵. The absence of logic that attends the construction of roads is matched by the manner in which the Albanian traveller negotiates them. Brown is surprised to find one Albanian he travels with pile on his saddle a precarious accumulation of blankets, cloaks, rugs and 'other trifles', resulting in the ludicrous image of a rider perched 'some two feet above his animal's back, and unstable to the last degree'[159]. In a common mark of the Balkanist repertoire, here was the primitive taken to the point of comedy, a social practice so bereft of guiding rationality that the human landscape appears less an indication of economic misfortune or cultural difference than the product of some hapless derangement.²⁶

Of course, the backwardness that the British traveller discovered in 'this odd country'[68] was hardly an absolute category. The representation of temporal difference, what Johannes Fabian has termed a '*denial of coevalness*',²⁷ defines the cultural object

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 38, 101. See also his portrait of an Albanian inn [126]. On the subject of roads, Peacock writes, 'In Europe (sic), when a man speaks of a road he means a more or less levelled surface, metalled and convenient for motor, or at least for horse traffic. In Albania he means a track, or frequently merely a direction [...]' (Peacock, *Albania*, p. 28).

²⁶ Balkans were often evoked with Brown's air of amused tolerance: see Harry de Windt, *Through Savage Europe: Being the Narrative of a Journey Throughout the Balkan States and European Russia*, new ed. (1907; London and Glasgow: Collins, c.1908), p. 120, E.A. Brayley Hodgetts, *Round About Armenia [etc]* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896), pp. 5-7; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 237; Booth, *Trouble in the Balkans*, pp. 67-8; Hobhouse, *Albania*, p. 103; Moore, *Balkan Trail*, p. 212; Smith, *Fighting the Turk*, pp. 13-4, 85, 160, 363. One Ottoman soldier, on the subject of the British being 'great travellers', complains to Best, "'I will tell you why. You write a great deal about all you see, and every thing there is to laugh at; and when you get home, and find yourself in a bad humour, you read over all you have written to get into a good humour again'" (Best, *Excursions*, p. 120).

²⁷ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 31. In a comment also apposite to travel writing, Fabian goes on to define the process as '*a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*' [Fabian's italics]. See also Simon During, 'Rousseau's Patrimony: Primitivism, Romance and Becoming Other', in Barker, et al,

not by any universal given but by the lack of the socio-economic conditions it is supposed to precede: the conditions, in other words, of 'civilised' western modernity.²⁸ By the time of Brown's journey, the British devotion to manufacture, industry and trade, and the underlying ideals of order and progress, were so entrenched in the minds of most travellers that the norms of industrial society, if not achieved by a host culture, became a standard by which the inadequacies of that culture could be properly determined. An example of this connection between representation and cultural value comes in Brown's depiction of Cetinje, the capital of an autonomous Montenegro that had been holding out against both Austro-Hungary and the Porte. For the physical conditions of the town, the interpretative paradigm the author deploys is less the historical struggle for independence, and the natural impoverishment that resulted, than the grand, metropolitan culture of his homeland. The tell-tale evidence is his emphasis on size, with the British image of a capital being subverted by the town's only buildings being a hotel, a few cottages, and a larger house that turns out to be the royal palace: 'such is Cetinje,' the author writes with heavy irony, 'capital of Montenegro, and seat of the government of Prince Nicholas'[17]. If size was always a good indicator of 'Balkan backwardness', as Russell termed it, then the state of local facilities was even better. For instance, after mentioning that Cetinje's hotel is ostensibly 'civilised', thereby invoking the metropolitan criteria for such places, Brown goes on to condemn local hospitality by that criteria in his claim that the average Montenegrin inn was distinguished by the 'dust of barbarism' and an innkeeper bearing 'the predatory instincts of his forefathers.'²⁹ This representation of

eds., *Colonial Discourse*, pp. 51-3. Joyce Cary captures the general sense of temporal, as well as geographical, distance surrounding the Balkans when he writes that one spot on the Montenegrin-Albanian border 'might have been the last forward station of humanity on the rim of the earth', a place where 'my nearest comrade was divided from me by a point of view a thousand years apart' (Cary, *Memoir of the Bobotes*, new ed. (1960; London: Readers Union, 1965), pp. 60, 129).

²⁸ These could also be the more specific conditions of the homeland; for example, Broughton wrote that 'the word comfort cannot be applied to any thing I ever saw out of England, which any one in my place, who was not afraid of being taken for a [...] prejudiced national blockhead, would confess' (Broughton, *Albania*, p. 47). Jelavich makes the same point about viewing Balkan culture 'through Western glasses' in Barbara Jelavich, 'The British Traveller in the Balkans: the Abuses of Ottoman Administration in the Slavonic Provinces', *Slavonic and East European Review* 33, No. 81 (June 1955), p. 397.

²⁹ Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 19. For other examples of the absent metropolis, as one could term it, see Brown's portrait of Prizren [230-1, 235-6]; Brayley Hodgetts' portrait of Sofia (in *Round About Armenia*, p. 5); and Walker's Kronstadt (now Brasov) in Walker, *Untrodden Paths*, pp. 219-20. See also the descriptions of villages in D.T. Ansted, *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring*

backwardness, characteristically linked here to moral backwardness, is furthered in Brown's account of native industry:

At present the manufactures of Montenegro are absolutely *nil*. Everything, even their darling revolvers, come from Austria *via* Cattaro, and, considering the nature of the people, the want of roads, and the strong footing which foreign goods have gained, it is doubtful if any encouragement can produce native manufacturers able to compete successfully with the foreigner.[18]

For a British readership, in a society flourishing through manufacture and imperialism, the true scale of both Montenegro's industrial deficiency and its reliance on the imperial power of Austria would not be lost, particularly as the author goes on to link such shortcomings with the imputed idleness of the people.³⁰ Befitting their position temporally behind Britain, and as his reference to 'their darling revolvers' suggests, the Montenegrins are for Brown like a race of incorrigible children,³¹ despite what he describes as their physical enormity. Indeed, his image of these 'barbarous Montenegrins'[5], with their 'brawling, boisterous behaviour'[269], endeavouring to inhabit the country's 'little white cottages'[17], once again adds that touch of absurdity that was so typical of Victorian representation. Montenegro, not being adult Britain, was

of 1862 (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1862), p. 43; W.F. Wingfield, *A Tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro [etc.]* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), p. 192; and Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 178.

³⁰ After detailing what progress is apparent, Brown adds: 'it would be wrong to infer from all this activity that the average Montenegrin is either energetic or progressive; on the contrary, it is open to doubt whether an idler race exists.' Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 20. On the primitive conditions of Montenegrin life, Roy Trevor wrote, 'What would they say, could they see the traffic of London, the boulevards of Paris, the dream cities of Italy! Surely it is better that they live and die here than that they see these things for a short time, only to be snatched away by a cruel fate to a living death, back to the desert in which they were born' (Trevor, *My Balkan Tour: An Account of some Journeyings and Adventures in the Near East [etc.]* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1910), pp. 186-7.

³¹ Although Brown refrains from actually using the word 'children', its appearance in British portraits of Balkan peoples was common; see, for example, Strangford's reference to 'fractious and rickety children' (Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 380), Henry Barkley's reference to 'children' who 'required [...] much care' (Barkley, *Between the Danube and Black Sea: Or, Five Years in Bulgaria* (London: John Murray, 1876), p. 195), and Lear's sketch of houses that resembled 'the figures of 'H was a House' in a child's spelling-book' (Lear, *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania*, rpt. ed. (1851; London: Century, 1988), p. 121.

to be patronised, a practice repeated in his sketches of Albania and the Albanians, of their customs, their superstitions, and their moral and intellectual backwardness.

The sense of an immature, uncivilised cultural space becomes central when considering the next component of balkanist discourse, that of the region's unremitting barbarity.³² Here, Brown's comparison between local people and children is less significant than their more numerous correlation to various species of animal - such as 'dogs', 'tom cat[s]' and 'beasts of the forest'[219, 277, 50]. Such disparaging, dehumanising metaphor becomes shorthand for a range of savage features which are seen to bedevil local character. Along with their inadequacies in education, social progress and rational faculty, the majority of the Albanian tribes are given to avarice, swagger, robbery, violent murder and such perpetual feuding that, far from summoning up the innocence of the Noble Savage, they appear more like 'ragged scoundrels' who 'have committed half the crimes in the Decalogue'.³³ Brown's use of the term 'scoundrel', even when combined with reference to deadly sin, puts a light gloss on the issue. The perceived bestiality of the locals often occasions in Brown considerable wariness, if not outright distaste, as seen in his journey through the tribal territories of the Mirëdita and Lumjane, where '[f]ierce, dirty-looking men and squalid women'[174] place our author on a permanent state of alert.³⁴ Perhaps the most telling aspect of Brown's denigration of such people is the innate nature of their faults, savagery being a trait borne by the individual, shared by the group, and even predetermined by the landscape. The 'dreary

³² The prefix 'semi-' was often attached to accusations of barbarity, thus 'semi-barbarous', 'semi-savages', etc.: amongst many instances, see Emma Pearson and Louisa McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia Under the Red Cross* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1877), pp. 125, 181, 328; Wingfield, *Tour in Dalmatia*, p. 208; Blunt, *Reminiscences*, p. 88; Peacock, *Albania*, p.12; Barkley, *Bulgaria*, p. 175; G. Muir Mackenzie and A.P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, 5th. ed., 2 Vols. (1866; London: Daldy, Isbister, 1877), I, 217, II, 91, 110. Maude Holbach expects to meet 'half-savage people' in Bosnia, in Holbach, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Some Wayside Wanderings* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Co., 1910), p. 15.

³³ Ibid., p. 63. Brown does refer to positive qualities, such as honour, hospitality and martial ability [60-2].

³⁴ It should be mentioned that Brown receives no ill-treatment of note from the Albanians, certainly nothing which could suggest any personal grievance behind his slurs on the 'Albanian character'. Indeed, apart from overcharging, the rare stoning (see my section on Lear) and the odd theft (as happens to Brown [220, 227]), and apart from P.L. Martin Wills - who has an ear cut off by insurgents (see Wills, *A Captive of the Bulgarian Brigands* (1906) and Robert Graves, *Storm Centres of the Near East: Personal Memories 1879-1929* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), pp. 214-5) - British travellers seem to have always been very well-treated in the Balkans.

waste'[162] and 'barren valleys'[197] of 'these diabolical mountains'[105] produce physical prowess, but also a gloom, taciturnity, severity and wildness Brown deems 'thoroughly in keeping with their savage surroundings'[196]. As an extension of its congenital condition, savagery is also deemed eternal and unchanging, the Albanians being 'a race of wild men' in the days of Roman rule, and 'are wild men still'[58], with Brown doubting whether the exigencies of Ottoman rule, the conquest by western empire, or indeed the opening up of the region through an extension of the European railway network will ever manage to civilise them.³⁵

It is such frank allusion to products of western modernity like the railway that returns one to the idea of non-Balkan society as the point of origination for nineteenth-century balkanism. The cultural conditions of the peninsula were being judged not by any native scale of value or efficacy - if such forms of judgement were available - but according to the dynamics of change that prevailed across western Europe, whose material greatness and political expansion were presumed to constitute the true gauge of civilised human society. Direct expression of these cultural loyalties influencing perception and judgement may not have formed a sizeable part of the final text, but - like Brown's allusion to the railway - rarely failed to make an appearance. When Mary Adelaide Walker refers, during a trip through Macedonia, to 'the healthy standard of English principle,' or when Florence Berger, in Romania, mentions in passing 'the refinements of Western civilisation',³⁶ they expose a candid loyalty to the faiths and practices of a metropolitan centre whose particular line of development the Balkans either seemed to eschew, or upon which its peoples had not yet even begun. Britain's own pre-modern past, which had occasionally drawn comparison between the two regions in eighteenth century texts,³⁷ was now distant enough in time as to fail to

³⁵ Ibid., see pp. 58, 159-160, 223. At best, he feels Albanians could develop into orderly peasants [148-9].

³⁶ Mary Adelaide Walker, *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864), p. 15; Florence Berger, *A Winter in the City of Pleasure [etc.]* (London: Richard Bentley, 1877), p. 118.

³⁷ One reason the indigenous populations were not given much attention in pre-1850 texts is that they were mainly peasants, and therefore unremarkable in an age when Britain still had a peasantry of its own. The loss of the British peasantry during the industrial revolution meant that the Balkan peasant became more interesting, but also presented a source of cultural otherness. Linkage with Britain's own peasant past is rare: see Ozanne, *Roumania*, p. 46; Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, p. 301; Tozer, *Researches*, I,

interrupt the construction of difference. In the deeply evaluative formulations of balkanism, Britain constituted the norm, south-east Europe the deviation, and this was both the cause of its problems and the justification for the incessant comment, criticism and advice to be found in British travel writing. An illustration of such a deeply-mediated perspective, and the kind of superciliousness it would engender, is found in Brown's confident linkage of Albanian 'savagery' to the country's lack of modern legal and political constraint. 'Their knowledge of the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*', Brown proclaims on the tribe of Mirëdita,

is rudimentary. For the life of him, a Mirdite cannot understand that he has no claim upon his neighbour's goods and cattle. He has thoroughly grasped the most modern theories of the rich man's duties to the poor, and is a past master in the doctrine of 'ransom.' Not unnaturally, his views on property have involved him in rather unpleasant arguments with his neighbours, consequently - as disapprobation in Albania is expressed by rifle bullets instead of ballot papers - he is unable to appear outside his own territory. [153-4]

The passage, a rather eclectic ragbag of unverified claims, illustrates a very Victorian rejection of a perceived communalism (ironically symbolised by 'rifle bullets') in favour of well-regulated economic individualism, the former being linked to a theft and violence which can only be checked by western forms of government and law (symbolised by 'ballot papers'). Interestingly, the innateness that elsewhere Brown discerns within local 'savagery' is now exchanged for the element of choice. While his *knowledge* of certain issues may be lacking, the Albanian outlook is not based on an unthinking absorption of inherited tradition but on the *grasp* of primitive socialist *theory* and the careful *mastery* of 'illegal' means to appropriate property, a set of *views* indicative of a far from primitive mental cunning. Nevertheless, it is a state which Brown, through use of the 'ethnographic present',³⁸ evokes as eternal and unchanging, again casting doubt on whether civilisation can ever infiltrate this land of 'lawless savages'[94].

293; Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy: With Some Impressions of Macedonia* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), p. 252.

³⁸ The term refers to a deployment of the present tense for descriptions of indigenous cultures, common to ethnology which gives the impression of fixed, unchanging, unprogressive cultures. Bartkowski talks of 'the ethnographic present that singularizes, essentializes, and dehistoricizes with impunity' (Frances

As the passage also demonstrates, savagery was also intimately linked to the final primary trope of balkanism, that of discord. In what would later become the region's most commonly imputed characteristic, travellers saw themselves emerging from the peaceful, hierarchical structure of home into a sudden, intractable state of antagonism violently lacking any order, rationality or restraint. Textually, such discord is often linked to a more general state of chaos that the British perceived in the region. In Brown's Albania, for example, the very physical landscape is imbued with fragmentation and disorder, as seen in his description of a Shkodër which, with its 'labyrinthine' ways, its 'straggling' shopping street [30] and its 'turmoil of [...] dim lanes'[39], has the property of chaos driven into the town's architectural core. The trope is also deployed for the demographic landscape,³⁹ as exemplified by Brown's sketch of market day in the town, when merchants, peasants, tribal chieftains, Ottoman soldiers, Christians and Muslims and travellers of variegated racial origin cram the narrow streets in 'a motley crowd,' as he writes elsewhere, 'smoking, lounging, hurrying, disputing, gesticulating, and representing Babel generally'[231-2]. When imparting the perceived confusion of races and tongues, Babel was a common reference point for the travel writer, an image resonant with the appropriate qualities of iniquity, Godlessness, a decrease in clarity and utter break down of social, racial and linguistic order.⁴⁰ When paired with the region's 'natural antipathies and hereditary hatreds'[50], it was also an image resonant with more

Bartkowski, *Travelers, Immigrants, Inmates: Essays in Estrangement* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 43. For an extended study of the technique, see Fabian, *Time and the Other*, pp. 80-7.

³⁹ Also the natural landscape: for example Smith's depiction of the Macedonian peaks as 'a chaotic jumble of primitive, sinister forms' (Smith, *Fighting the Turk*, p. 279) or Roy Trevor's comment on Montenegro that 'Nature has here striven to portray in stone Commotion and Chaos' (Trevor, *Montenegro: A Land of Warriors* (London: Black, 1913), p. 3). Reflecting his portrait of its peoples, Eliot describes the Balkans as a 'peninsula almost the entire surface of which is crumpled up into a series of ridges so numerous and irregular that it is difficult to reduce them to mountain systems or give a general description of their topography': Charles Eliot ['Odysseus'], *Turkey in Europe* (London: Edward Arnold, 1900), p. 54.

⁴⁰ Amongst numerous examples, see Lear, *Journals*, p. 13; R.H.R., *Rambles in Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1875), p. 97; Booth, *Trouble*, p. 132; Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, p. 189. J.W. Ozanne even uses it to depict Romanian coinage: Ozanne, *Roumania*, p. 113-4. As Robert J.C. Young mentions, the "ethnic commotion" and 'anarchy of racial mixing' met with in the Balkans was a staple target of a wider colonial discourse, and always set against the racial constancy of 'the English breed' (Young, 'Hybridism and the Ethnicity of the English', in Pearson, et al, eds., *Cultural Readings*, p. 137).

violent implication. In Shkodër, the dispute Brown witnesses during market day becomes, by dusk, a frank exchange of gunfire that 'is far from an uncommon sound [...] in the narrow streets'[53]; outside Shkodër, beyond the 'very much diluted civilisation of the town'[58], he discovers not only a constant feuding between ethnic groups (whether Albanian and Montenegrin, Serb and Bulgarian, Montenegrin and Ottoman),⁴¹ but also within a group, so that the Albanians, for example, are often involved in the most violent feuds, the vendetta being 'an institution still in full vigour in this wild corner of Europe'[63], and one which makes 'open fighting'[60] a staple of the region. Such behaviour confirms the impression, stated at the text's opening, of a region inscribed by 'endless conflict and bloodshed'.⁴²

It was this cluster of components, then, which formed the interpretative framework through which the Balkan peninsula was conceived, a conflation of congenital discord, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation tackled, during the period of High Victorianism, in a register that could oscillate from comic absurdity to moral outrage, and from stern objectivity to the wildest romance.⁴³ Naturally, separating the cluster for the purposes of elucidation is a somewhat academic exercise. The various components - which pre-existed the individual journey, and survived long after the journey's text was forgotten - all collaborated in the manufacture of the style and extremity of the Balkan otherness by overcoming individual utterance and reducing the traveller's experience into a basic reiteration of its essential formula. At least, this was the prevailing tendency of the age. Any analysis of cross-cultural representation - within a culture, a period, a text - can locate and define the dominant paradigm, but never itemise fully the bewildering divergence from the dominant that representation often displays. In the balkanist text, for example, it was not unusual for one or other of the primary tropes to be marginal or absent, and for the burden of regional denigration to be carried by those remaining. Alongside the primary tropes, similarly, a range of secondary characteristics - sloth, superstition, fondness for hard liquor, moral iniquity, Ruritanian absurdity and inflated

⁴¹ See Brown, *Winter in Albania*, pp. 26, 222, 108.

⁴² Ibid., p. 5. One device writers used to evoke the savage altercations of the Balkan peoples was to mention its existence, and then claim its results were too horrific to detail: see Hodgetts, *Round About Armenia*, p. vii; Best, *Excursions*, p. vii; and Upward, *East End*, p. 97; Le Queux, *Observer*, pp. 6, 304.

⁴³ Mazower is correct to sum up the nineteenth-century response to the Balkans as 'a blend of fascination, amusement, ethnographic detachment and horror' (Mark Mazower, *The Balkans* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000), p. 59).

ambition⁴⁴ - may and would make an appearance, on the odd occasion - such as St. Clair and Brophy's *A Residence in Bulgaria* (1869) - even coming to prevail over the century's representational dominant. As I detail later in the chapter, the region could also draw a positive, sympathetic style of representation that mingled with, or even overshadowed, the denigratory elements within a text. Nevertheless, the dominant paradigm remains that mixture of 'preternatural barbarism [...], congenital perfidy, inveterate cruelty and unfathomable complexity',⁴⁵ a paradigm which, to begin a more general analysis of balkanism, should be established as the racial discourse that it is.

The point needs to be prefaced by a move from the focus on Brown to an accommodation of the wider travel writings of the period. His *A Winter in Albania* was - as I say - representative of a more generalising cultural essentialisation, the text's imagined Albania typifying a style of regional portraiture whose real subject extended far beyond Albania's borders. It was here, within this larger territory, that travellers were finding their major reference point, and here that the perimeters of this racial discourse should be sought. For example, Harry de Windt's declaration, in *Through Savage Europe* (1907), that the eponymous title "accurately describes the wild and lawless countries between the Adriatic and Black Seas",⁴⁶ suggests that the Balkan 'races' are less to be distinguished as the product of singular histories and cultural formations than aggregated on the basis of shared, and wholly negative, attributes. Similarly, when Arthur Evans mentions 'the universal anarchy of the Balkan peninsula', Henry Tozer 'the wild stern regions of European Turkey' or Arthur Moore 'the fierce and foolish chauvinism of the Balkan States',⁴⁷ we are being asked not to consider each as a unique

⁴⁴ A later traveller called this 'petty Balkan imperialism' (M. Philips Price, *Through the Iron-Laced Curtain: A Record of a Journey through the Balkans in 1946* (London: Sampson Low, 1949), p. 32. The phrase perfectly captures Victorian Britain's abhorrence at recognising in the other its own expansionist desires.

⁴⁵ Wheeler, 'Not So Black As It's Painted', p. 1. The point is not only true of travel writing, of course, as Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) demonstrates. 'The investigation of vampires in a Transylvanian castle', Gatrell writes, 'offers only a slightly exaggerated image of the English view of activities appropriate to this region' (Simon Gatrell, 'Introduction' to Gatrell, ed., *The Ends of the Earth, 1876-1918* (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1992), p. 47).

⁴⁶ See de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Evans, *Illyrian Letters: A Revised Selection of Correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia [etc]* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878), p. 133; Tozer, *Researches*, I, 196; Moore, *The Orient Express* (London: Constable, 1914), p. 279.

entity - as one would a western culture, say - but rather as expression of a much broader geopolitical grouping. In this way, traces of cultural individuality, which do indeed find some mention in the text,⁴⁸ become subsumed in the travel writers' [re]establishment of a collectivity as the true area of knowledge, with the constant movement from individual essence to regional essence, through usage of such terms as 'Turkey in Europe' or 'the Balkans', constructing Albania (or Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia) as purely metonym for the whole. Clearly, the process is not immediately racist. Although the word seems more suitably evocative than 'regionalism' - an unsatisfactorily mild designation which effectively masks the atrocious bigotry still lying behind the British concept of the Balkans - the religious, ethnic and national diversity that prevails throughout the region seems to indicate the latter term as the more semantically appropriate. Nevertheless, the process of image-formation I am terming balkanism was one by which the Balkans could be unified and uncomplicatedly *known*, and while the sum of that knowledge may not have denoted a single 'race', it still evinced both a deeply-held ethnocentrism and, particularly after the 1870s, something unquestionably close to racial prejudice.

In *Racism* (1989), Robert Miles has produced a condensed, workable definition of the ideology that demonstrates its appositeness to the Balkan context. Arguing against the more restricted usages that have recently developed, Miles attempts a general delineation of racism according to two primary features: the first, the identification of a social collectivity, and the innate difference of that collectivity, on the basis of racialised, biological criteria; and the second, the imputation to this collectivity of a range of negative associations, whether these be biological or cultural characteristics, or a perceived danger to a second party. As Miles points out, the major ramification is 'that such a naturally defined collectivity constitutes a problematic presence: it is represented ideologically as a threat.'⁴⁹ It seems to me that balkanism, which defines the Balkans, en masse, as a number of biologically-determined 'races' commonly exhibiting an innate set

⁴⁸ I am thinking here of the characteristics that sometimes overlie the deeper balkanist tropes; for example, the Bulgarians being dour and plodding, the Montenegrins heroic or the Serbs gay and romantic. Goldsworthy notes that as early as the 1870s, "[s]uffering Bulgarians, "wild" Albanians, "martial" Servians and "proud, brace" Montenegrins were beginning to appear in the pages of *Punch*' (see her *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 31).

⁴⁹ Robert Miles, *Racism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 79. As Brantlinger adds, 'Imperialist discourse is inseparable from racism. Both express economic, political, and cultural domination (or at least wishes for domination)': see Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p. 39).

of defects, bears a close correspondence to this ideological process; its emphasis is simply on a collectivity of negatively-evaluated racial groups rather than the determination of a singularly-defined racial group. Indeed, balkanism could be considered a kind of generic racism that claims to locate and define the supposedly mutual iniquities of those various ethnic groups inhabiting the Balkan peninsula. Each group, and individual within each group, exhibits certain immutable traits shared with its neighbours, including irrationality, an unwavering predisposition to violence, moral and emotional underdevelopment, endemic ethnic intolerance and a frank disregard of those practices that inaugurate civic, political, and cultural progress.⁵⁰ During the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, such prejudice was expressed with the confidence, and pseudo-scientific presumption, of an increasingly racist age. In Brown's portrait of Albania, for instance, one finds the presence of environmental determinism, a hang-over from pre-Victorian explanations of otherness, and also the most trusting faith in physiognomy.⁵¹ At the same time, Social Darwinism was rarely absent from such texts, and so confident were travellers about the notion of biologically inferior Balkan 'races' that the representational paradigm - typically for the period - could support denigratory essentialisation of ludicrous presumption. This is evident in Robert Graves's contention that the Balkan peasant is in 'possession of a lower nervous organism than that of the western European', William Miller's point that 'the native of the Balkans' 'is apt to deteriorate morally when he assumes Western garb', or Edith Durham's claim that cannibalism, the primary antithesis of all western civilisation held most dear about itself, was being carried out by certain sections of the Balkan population until well into the twentieth century.⁵² Clearly, in the Darwinian scheme of things, these were a low people

⁵⁰ The fact that individuals were often deemed merely representative of a wider social grouping perhaps accounts for many of those met along the journey remaining unnamed: for example, one finds allusions to a 'Mrs. Turk' (Whitwell, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Paint Brush* (Darlington: William Dresser, London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, c1909), p. 72), to 'our Albanians' (Hobhouse, *Albania*, p. 169), to 'our Bulgarian' (Booth, *Trouble*, p. 106), and to 'a most amusing savage' (Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 144).

⁵¹ For example, Brown writes of one tribe: 'Nature had stamped the hall mark of finished rascality indelibly on their ugly features. Their appearance is a plea of guilty to everything that can be argued against them' (Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 207).

⁵² Graves, *Storm Centres*, p. 73; Miller, *Travels and Politics*, p. 58; Mary Edith Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1928), pp. 159-162. Location of cannibalism is also found in Upward, *East End*, pp. 97-8, 174, 318-9, 347-8. At times, the aspersion was ridiculed: see Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M ... y W ...*

indeed, and one whose blend of wickedness and proximity undoubtedly constituted 'a problematic presence' for the West. There were the problems, for example, of their carrying fatal disease into western Europe, their acting as a drain on the western European economy and, long before any glimmering of the First World War, their causing a crisis that would violently upset the peace of the continent.⁵³

In Miles's definition of racial ideology, a secondary characteristic of great pertinence to Victorian balkanism is the binarist thinking that informed it, racism being the 'dogma' - to turn to Benedict's famous formulation - by which 'one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority.'⁵⁴ This ideological duality of self and other was a constant of colonial representations, by which the construction of barbarian otherness invariably occurred alongside positive constructions of the imperial self, and also an essential feature of the British conceptualisation of the Balkans. For both, racial binarism found an ideal medium for expression in the genre of travel literature. If it is true, as Anthony Fothergill claims, that 'any writing of the Other [...] is a writing from within, a reinscribing, via negation, of the writer',⁵⁵ then it is autobiographical work that most effectively dramatised the opposition, establishing in the autobiographical persona a range of English qualities that could not only be magnificently set off against the constructed iniquity of the locals, but also propped up by the genre's claim to veracity. The Balkans were, as Brown illustrates, a potent, distinctive aberration of British norms,

y M ... e [etc.] (London: S. Payne, A. Cook, and H. Hill, 1767), p. 75, and R.H.R., *Rambles in Istria*, p. 206.

⁵³ For the threat of disease, see de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, pp. 106-7, Muir Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, I, 215, and S.G.B. St. Clair and Charles Brophy, *A Residence in Bulgaria; Or, Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey [etc]* (London: John Murray, 1869), p. 63; for economic disruption, see *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1; and for the threat of war, see James Minchin, *The Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula [etc]* (London: John Murray, 1886), p. 152, Arthur Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875 [etc.]* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), p. 364, and Le Queux, *Observer*, p. 231. For the fear, long before 1914, that the Balkans might incite a European-wide war, see Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 71.

⁵⁴ Ruth Benedict, *Race and Racism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 97. As Miles argues, 'because it presumes a process of racialisation, [the ideology of racism] has a dialectical character in so far as the representation of the Other serves simultaneously to refract a representation of the Self.' He goes on, 'the negative characteristics of the Other mirror the positive characteristics of the Self' (Miles, *Racism*, p. 79).

⁵⁵ Anthony Fothergill, 'Of Conrad, Cannibals and Kin', in Mark Gidley, ed., *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 38-9.

and to come face to face with such startling difference was also to be startled into consciousness of oneself, one's rationality, one's rectitude and fundamental civility.⁵⁶ I will be detailing the process in the following chapter, so perhaps it is enough to mention here that much of what a traveller accused the Balkans of was a projection of what that traveller least desired to find in him or herself: violence, sexism, immorality, injustice, ignorance, even racial prejudice itself, what would nowadays be considered fundamental features of imperial Britain, were cleansed from the imperial centre through constant relocation amongst dissolute, peripheral cultures residing at distance from the West. This binarism, achieved through a strict delineation of superior and inferior 'races', represented a hierarchical understanding of Europe that was repeated again and again in the travel writing of the period.

The function of repetition itself cannot be overestimated when considering the gradual establishment of the racist discourse of balkanism. Certainly, its system of knowledge formation was never as methodical as that of orientalism, whose practitioners had created by the nineteenth century a vast, scholarly apparatus of societies, journals and institutions with which to formally accrue knowledge of the Orient. Yet balkanism did develop its own distinct, albeit more informal, convention of citation, borrowing and authoritative cross-referencing, creating a praxis of signification whose continuance, via the disciplines of history, geography, reportage, travel and fiction, proceeded reasonably unchecked from text to text and generation to generation. Once its primary motifs, tropes and imagery were established, and its terminology and evaluations formulated, the discourse began to gain ever-greater control over the perception of travellers and the utterance of their texts. It is not difficult to see how the conflation of mystery, primitive savagery and discord could provide a beguilingly straightforward framework for travellers either flustered by the complex cultural difference they needed to annotate, or desirous of a wild, adventurous backdrop to set off their own resilience to danger and hardship. Neither should one be surprised that such travellers felt obliged, by this powerful, pre-existing framework, to prove their credentials as perceptive and creditable

⁵⁶ Foucault's depiction of madness - as 'that constant verticality which confronts European culture with what it is not, establishes its range by its own derangement' (Foucault, *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, new ed., trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), p. xi) - is as useful as a depiction of the extreme otherness British travellers would find in the Balkans.

commentators by going ahead and discovering it anew. There is such a profound similarity between travel texts, in fact, that although a writer may include a measure of fresh data, or bring an individual stylishness to the subject, originality does not seem to have been a concern, as shown by the continual presence during the period of the same routes, the same destinations, the same myths, legends and anecdotes, and, above all, the same revealingly candid reliance on former travellers. When Roy Trevor cites whole passages from a previous traveller to support his own representations of Montenegrin violence, when Fanny Blunt relies solely on 'report' for her depiction of 'savage Albania', or when Florence Berger, in Romania, justifies her portrait of peasant apathy by saying it is 'repeatedly spoken of by travellers and historians',⁵⁷ one is catching a glimpse of what Hulme termed a 'grid of expectations and preconceptions', of writers situated in a discursive tradition that exists 'in its own separate space entirely unaffected by any observation of or interchange with native [...] cultures.'⁵⁸ The result is not an empirical but a textualised Balkans, one that gained legitimacy by discursive repetition and concurrence, both of its own historically-specific observances and of those classical traditions of representation which, by the late twentieth century, had become largely unknown to the many travel writers still working within them.

While the signifying practices of antiquity provided the West with some of the key terms for understanding and representing its 'racial' others in the Balkans, it must be

⁵⁷ Trevor, *Montenegro*, pp. 59-68; Blunt, *Reminiscences*, pp. 71-2; Berger, *City of Pleasure*, p. 148. A curious variant on the repetition of balkanist discourse appears in Blunt's usage of the term '*Salade Macedoine*' (Ibid., p. 133), derived from the supposedly intractable ethnic jumble of Macedonian, to describe Macedonia, a thoroughly circular piece of logic (see also Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, p. 285).

⁵⁸ See Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, p. 47. Richard Maltby, writing on the cinematic Western, terms the text that results from such borrowings 'a palimpsest, a manuscript written on the pages of an earlier, now partially erased, book, carrying the traces of its previous inscription' (Maltby, 'John Ford and the Indians; or, Tom Doniphon's History Lesson', in Gidley, ed., *Representing Others*, p. 127). See also Said's 'textual attitude, in Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 92-4, 176-7. John McVeagh also talks of how 'travel literature [has] fed upon itself', in his 'Introduction' to McVeagh, ed., *All Before Them, 1660-1780* (London, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1990), p. 30). This tradition would continue despite travel writers' occasional protests against what they saw as the misrepresentation of others - see R.H.R., *Rambles*, p. 248; St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence*, pp. 152-60, 394; Vivian, *Servia*, p. 31; Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, pp. 84-91; Upward, *East End*, p. 39; Cary, *Memoir*, p. 48; Valentine Baker, *War in Bulgaria: A Narrative of Personal Experiences*, 2 Vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879), I, xiii; Wills, *A Captive of the Bulgarian Brigands [etc.]* (London: Ede, Allom and Townsend, 1906), p. 5. See also the famous charge against male travellers in Montagu, *Letters*, pp. iv-v, 180.

remembered that such terms had very little geographical specificity. The classical discourse of barbarity had long surrounded the religious 'others' of Christendom, wherever that otherness was found, and by the age of colonial expansion was being evolved for indiscriminate usage on those objects of western European ambition which refused the subordinate position assigned them. While in no way wishing to underestimate the diversity of colonial project, its contingency and tremendous transformation over time, this extraordinary surface resemblance to the forms of colonial rhetoric does seem to me important to note. The resemblance is clearly suggested, for instance, by the frequency with which the primary motifs of balkanism cropped up in support of territorial appropriation elsewhere in the world. When Columbus hears of Caribbean gold, as an early example, he includes in his sketch of the local Caribs descriptions of such barbarity, warlike ferocity and primitive appetite - including cannibalism, naturally - that acquisition of local resources would seem fully justified. Similarly, the violent reprisals the British inflicted on the Indians after the Mutiny would have appeared thoroughly condoned by the reports of the mutiny's brutally savage and shameful nature. Again, King Leopold's conquest of the Congo, or Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, were both achieved with reference to barbarous tribalism and frank inability for self government that continue to draw one back to the motifs of discord, chaos, savagery and backwardness. I do not wish to suggest that colonial discourse was restricted to these four motifs alone; obviously other accusations came to the fore, as such archetypes as 'cunning Chinamen', 'idle Kafirs' and 'lascivious Africans', bear witness.⁵⁹ What I do argue, simply, is that the motifs that comprised balkanist discourse were not a response to the complex peculiarities of unique cultural formations, but a part of a larger ideological mapping that had served the cause of imperial conquest and global domination.

The intricate relationship of balkanism to this widespread pattern of discursive practice - of utmost significance to my theme - is perhaps best illustrated by analysing its points of semblance and disparity to orientalism.⁶⁰ Certainly, Victorian balkanism has

⁵⁹ Loomba also mentions 'the 'mild Hindoo', the 'warlike Zulu', [...] the 'New World cannibal', or the 'black rapist' [which] were all generated through particular colonial situations and were tailored to different colonial policies' (Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 97).

⁶⁰ I disagree with Milica Bakić-Hayden claim that balkanism is merely "a variation on the orientalist theme", a contention that is also pursued by Allcock (see Bakić-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The

significant differences from the discourse on the Orient, differences which emerged from a general divergence between representations of 'primitive' societies and 'decadent' civilisations, and whose consideration can greatly assist with delineating the British concept of the Balkans. In Islam, after all, the Christian world had for centuries found its political, religious, cultural, and military rival, particularly during the heyday of the Ottoman Empire, when Suleiman had brought to the gates of Vienna the contiguity of a profound cultural otherness which, backed up by military might and historical achievement, drove a begrudging respect into western discourse long after his Empire had fallen into decline.⁶¹ At the same time, while the aura of danger never left it, the Orient became increasingly defined by that very decline from greatness, leading to a series of tropes - opulence, indolence, effeminacy, corrupting luxury and moral dissolution - revolving around notions of social decadence. This sense of the Orient as an inverse of Britain's moral rectitude also caused what Rana Kabbani, amongst others, charts as the western eroticisation of the region. Writers like Edward William Lane and Richard Burton, for example, would make frequent, fascinated reference to the East's sensuality and licentiousness, as encapsulated in their portraits of the Seraglio, that heady mixture of mysterious lavish interiors and erotic domination, of 'sexuality and despotism', which soon became 'deeply entrenched in the [western] European imagination.'⁶² Evidently, all this was a world away from Brown's Albania. On the one hand, the imagined Balkans one encounters in a work like *A Winter in Albania* may have occasionally unnerved the western traveller, but its colonised status indicated neither direct military threat nor a history of any conceivable importance. On the other hand, the region might have struggled for centuries under the eastern rule, but the indigenous populations seemed to have picked up little of the East's erotic glamour, not even the

Case of Former Yugoslavia', *Slavic Review* 54, No. 4 (Winter 1995), p. 920; Allcock, 'Constructing the Balkans' in Allcock and Youngs, eds., *Black Lambs*, p. 179). Todorova is right to argue that "Balkanism" is not merely a sub-species of orientalism' (Todorova, 'Balkans', p. 454). See also Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 192; and Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans"' (1992).

⁶¹ Examples of this lingering respect are found in Creagh, *Over the Borders*, I, 157, 160-1; Tozer, *Researches*, I, 19; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 324; and Patrick O'Brien, *Journal of a Residence in the Danubian Principalities, In the Autumn and Winter of 1853* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), p. 4.

⁶² Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, new ed. (1986; London: Pandora, 1994), pp. 18, 66. A study like Kabbani's is a vital addition to Said's *Orientalism*, which eschews study of the erotics of eastern travel (see Said, *Orientalism*, p. 188).

Muslim communities, whose *haremliks* were perceived as tawdry, miserable affairs, and women for the most part unlovely.⁶³ Indeed, if the feminine came to define the Orient of western fantasy, then it was masculinity that defined the Balkans, a region suitable for masculine adventure - as I go on to discuss below - but hardly the place for sensual liaison.⁶⁴

Yet perhaps the most significant discrepancy between balkanism and orientalism concerns what one could term their juxtaposition in the imaginative geography of the age. Alongside its location of regional essences, the cross-cultural discourses informing Victorian geographical awareness were established on processes of ideological placement and alignment in which a region's exact location would fashion a specific form of significance. For the Balkans and the Orient, distinction emerged from the incompatible relations the two regions had to the western centre, as Maria Todorova cogently demonstrates. After an extensive discussion of orientalism, Todorova locates as one of the fundamental tropes of the discourse an irreconcilable chasm between east and west, a construction of absolute otherness through which the East attains distinct ontological status. Opposed to this, the more common trope for the Balkans, both in western and Balkan literatures, is that of the bridge, or cross-roads, whose transitional, ambiguous role is to form that point where the religious traditions and cultures of the east find their point of convergence with those of the west. While the British disparagement of the east was enough to deny any positivity to the role, Todorova is right in arguing that such cultural associations were not enough to push the Balkans into the Orient. Indeed, if for

⁶³ A few examples of these tawdry harems and unlovely native women, particularly that moment common to the eastern journey that one might call the disappointed unveiling, can be found in Woods, *Four Seas*, p. 17; de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 65; Percy E. Henderson, *British Officer in the Balkans [etc.]* (London: Seeley and Co., 1909), pp. 70-3, 115; E.F. Knight, *Albania: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Sampson Low, Marsden, Searle and Rivington, 1880), p. 42; Lear, *Landscape Painter*, p. 120; Booth, *Trouble*, p. 109; Maude M. Holbach, *Dalmatia: The Land Where East Meets West*, 3rd ed. (1907; London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1910), p. 163. Examples of more positive representation, even flirtation, can be found in Alfred Wright, *Adventures in Servia [etc.]* (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein, 1884), pp. 34-5; G.F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1903), pp. 251-2; Crosse, *Carpathians*, p. 107; Cary, *Memoir*, pp. 79, 105, 127.

⁶⁴ The point is underlined by the fact that the British concept of the Balkans up until 1914 had emerged predominantly from male experience in the region. To my knowledge, there are only eighteen women who, in the several centuries of recorded travel in south-east Europe left written journals, with about half of these being records of excursions around, or sojourns within, the region's peripheries.

travellers the Balkans had to fall on either side of the dichotomy then, with the vast majority of its population being of Christian persuasion, it was into Europe the region fell. When merged with the discord, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation that defined it, this position as European territory produced the impression not of 'an incomplete other,' which its eastern associations might have suggested, but of 'incomplete self.'⁶⁵ Consequently, Todorova suggestively rejects the concepts of liminality and marginality, which merely indicate an alteration to the self-image, in favour of the *lowermost*, the status of alter-ego, or other within. To put the case another way, the Balkans were less an 'anti-Europe',⁶⁶ as Kiernan summarises the western concept of the Orient, than a sub-Europe.

The observation is one for which Brown's work is a useful exemplar. In a pattern common to the travel writing of the period, Albania is considered European territory in the text - Brown terming it a part of 'Turkey in Europe', for instance - at the same time as its inhabitants, with their primitiveness, savagery and squalor, are seen as something apart from Europeans, Brown reserving 'European' as demographic epithet for himself and other visitors from the West.⁶⁷ Similarly, Henry Barkley, over the course of two memoirs of his life in Bulgaria, both establishes the country as intrinsically 'Europe', despite at times referring to it as 'the East', and also maintains a strict distinction between 'European residents' and the 'natives'.⁶⁸ On a more straightforward level, there are those terse summaries of the Balkans as the 'least-known corner of Europe', the 'cut-throat part of Europe', 'this dark corner of Europe', 'this wild corner of Europe',⁶⁹ which emerge from the perception of a recognisably European landscape, with European cultural and religious traditions, in which all the normal standards of post-Enlightenment

⁶⁵ Todorova, *Imagining*, p. 18. My general understanding of the relations between balkanism and orientalism have been assisted by Todorova's discussion of the subject (see *Ibid.*, pp. 7-20).

⁶⁶ Kiernan, *Lords of Human Kind*, p. 6. Todorova writes 'that while orientalism is dealing with a difference between (imputed) types, balkanism treats the differences within one type' (Todorova, *Imagining*, p. 19).

⁶⁷ See Brown, *Winter in Albania*, pp. 1, 51, 60, 277. The latter is Brown's only reference to an Albanian as a European, although it being a particular evil brigand, 'an epitome of wickedness', the usage appears ironic.

⁶⁸ See Barkley, *Bulgaria*, pp. 3, 221, 3, 6. For the split between 'Europeans and natives' see also Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, p. 161, and the patterns of designation in Creagh, *Over the Borders*, Le Queux, *Observer*, Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, Trevor, *Balkan Tour* and Upward, *East End*.

⁶⁹ Upward, *East End*, p. xvii; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 205; de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 211; and Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 63.

'Europeanness' appear horribly inverted. In place of freedom, morality, progress, civil order and the rule of law, in short, were tyranny, chaos, barbarism and, most importantly of all, the appalling presence of colonial rule. For an imperial nation like Britain, here was the worst nightmare of all, and surely the cause of the Balkans' vital cultural resonance to the nation: due to its unique status as colonised Europe, the British imagination, with furtive mock-horror, could conjure up the image of Europe not as imperial master of the world but as victim of imperial encroachment - whether it be the encroachment of the East (in Ottoman territory) or that of the West (in the territories of Austria-Hungary) - and in so doing glimpsed the true value of all the social and military institutions which had guaranteed that, for Britain, the opposite was in fact the case. And when representing the Balkans, the result was not the sympathy for the Balkan peoples one might expect. The region may have been part of Europe, but more often than not the response of western European travellers to its crises was of strict antipathy, disapproval and detachment.

It is on this issue of subordination that one also begins to discover the connections between the discourses of balkanism and orientalism, despite the discrepant ontological positions each held in the West's imaginative geography. The Orient had certainly borne great civilisations in its time, and even retained a certain military clout, but had become over time as much a subordinate culture as a colonised region like the Balkans. The British conceptualisation of the East, whether an oriental power base like the Porte or a peripheral territory like Egypt, was dependent on the frank considerations of power in an age of imperialism, and while eroticism was a pursuit for some, the official attitude was rather of hard-nosed political engagement, be it propping up the Sultan's rule in the Balkans or lopping off parts of his territory elsewhere.⁷⁰ In order to justify British interventions, particularly the colonial take-overs of Egypt and Arabia, the vindictory narratives that codified such regions for the domestic readership were as reliant on the motifs of discord, savagery, backwardness and mystery as those of lethargy, luxury and decadence. Indeed, the literary constructions of a sensuous, decadent Orient were never so effective as when combined with descriptions of its sudden frenzies of tyrannical

⁷⁰ The maintenance of the Ottoman Empire would often involve a strain of complimentary representation that undermines Said's understanding of a monolithic orientalism: in the Balkans, the discourse of orientalism clashed with that of balkanism in a manner which, regrettably, is beyond the scope of this piece.

barbarity.⁷¹ The East was, in this way, a sinister, demonic zone for the Briton, a place defined by the eternal, unchanging mysteries of the lattice and veil, by resistance to modernity, by devastation, fanaticism and violence, and with the Arab-Oriental defined, variously, as an 'irrational animal', an 'Asiatic barbarian' or 'mere [...] mental mummy'.⁷² The anti-Europe, clearly, was formulated along the same dichotomous structures as the sub-Europe that was the Balkans. Indeed, Said's summary of 'the absolute and systematic difference' Westerners construct between themselves and Arab-Orientals could as easily stand in as a summary of the balkanist dichotomy: 'On the one hand there are Westerners,' he writes, 'and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter are none of these things.'⁷³

What is to be concluded from the recognition of this dearth of cultural signifiers in British cross-cultural representation? It seems to me that what emerges from any comparative study of representations and their similarities is the fact that colonial discourse appears too specific a term for a signifying pattern which, as the Balkans demonstrate, serves power within a far broader variety of subordinate, or adversarial,⁷⁴ cultures. The issue is less about settlement colonialism per se, than about the views of that subordinate or adversarial culture in the eyes of a dominant culture, and how that dominant culture justifies through knowledge and representation the perpetuation or achievement of its dominance. At the same time, non-colonial subordination of a territory does not necessarily imply any lessening of power, or any reduction of suffering inflicted: the non-colonised population, as the Balkans after 1914 again showed, often suffers as

⁷¹ These twin features of the West's Orient are summed up in Kinglake's thrilling phrase, 'the splendour and havoc of the East' (Kinglake, *Eothen*, p. 23).

⁷² Burton and Doughty quoted in Kabbani, pp. 63, 106; Kinglake, *Eothen*, p. 70.

⁷³ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 300, 49.

⁷⁴ I am thinking here of the deployment of the signifying practices I have been discussing on an imperial adversary like Russia. For example, John Gadsby, not unusually for a nineteenth-century British travel writer, exclaims, 'Oh ye Arabs and Ethiopians; ye Niggers and South American slave-holders! Go to Russia. You may there yet learn a lesson or two in barbarism!' (Gadsby, *A Trip to Sebastopol, Out and Home, By Way of Vienna [etc.]*, 2nd ed. (1858; London: Gadsby, 1858), p. 27. Hulme-Beaman also notes the general preconception of Russia as 'a semi-barbarous land inhabited by rather ferocious savages' (Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years*, p. 196); de Windt calls it 'the land of mystery, gloom, and death' (de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 295). The discourse had clearly reached Russia itself, for Tozer, on Athos, mentions a rather jovial Russian monk who says upon meeting him, "Good evening; you are welcome: I am a Muscovite - a barbarian!" (Tozer, *Researches*, I, 74).

much violence, indignity and poverty as the colonised. It is this issue of power and subordination I now wish to explore as I look more closely at the political and personal forms of supremacy - or the 'exclusionary practices'⁷⁵ - which British discourse supported in the Balkan peninsula, this European other of western civilisation.

⁷⁵ Miles's term for the practices that result from racial ideology: Miles, *Racism*, p. 6.

CHAPTER TWO

VICTORIAN SELF AND BALKAN OTHER

Victorian balkanism was never wholly systematised as a discourse, or had its aims singularly determined. In contrast to the territorial acquisition and rule legitimised by colonialist writing, the forms of political power achieving vindication through balkanist paradigms were ambiguous, shifting patterns of diplomatic and economic strategy that differed between political party and political party and from one administration to the next. Indeed, the geostrategic concern that Britain came to know as the Eastern Question was, by its very appellation, defined less by material events than by their provocation of controversy and debate.¹ The Victorian travellers' mindfulness of that debate, and characteristic determination to participate, offered a major source of relevant information, but hardly clarified the issue. The bewildering political stances a contemporary reader could find in their writing included support for Disraeli, support for Gladstone, pro-Austrianism, anti-Austrianism, Turkophilia, Turkophobia and a particularly rabid anti-Russianism. A number of memoirs even found their way towards heartfelt censure of British diplomatic policy (though this never went so far as to question Britain's right to intervene in the Near East). In the light of such apparent confusion, one might well ask how the will-to-knowledge in such writings could have possibly translated into support for any specific manifestation of power.

The power-knowledge of British travel writing on the Balkans emerges from a more profound conjunction of power and representational form. Beneath the variegated political stances, what we might term the surface utterances of individual travellers, lies an articulation of fundamental cultural assumptions that shape, organise, channel, and profoundly synthesise the majority of texts from the period. Of these assumptions, this

¹ E.F.G. Law even wrote on the 'Near Eastern Question' that 'absolute impartiality is hardly to be looked for in a matter so replete with controversial issues, so pre-eminently calculated to excite passion and prejudice' (Law, 'Preface' to *Upward, East End*, p. vii).

construction of the Balkans as subordinate culture that I have been discussing has a significance, and unifying function, that should not be underestimated. As I hope to have indicated, imperialism, in both rhetoric and practice, had rigidly partitioned the world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into nations destined to rule, existing in privileged space, and regions fated to be ruled;² and there was no doubt into which category the Balkans fell. The region was viewed as so subordinate to colonial power, in fact, that most travellers overlooked both its own imperial expansions of the past and its contemporary emergence, at points through the peninsula, into a new era of nationhood alongside Italy and Germany. Instead, the region was constructed from linguistic material the West had been developing primarily, though not exclusively, for usage on the imperial object, with representations of its primitive economic structures, social turbulence and ignorance of modern legal and governmental practice, presenting (the occasional) difference in degree though not in kind from those of Britain's own colonial possessions. In short, whatever their opinion on British policy, or on the region's political administration, travellers revealed remarkable convergence on the subordinate status of the Balkans, and expressed this subordination through a narrow range of cultural signifiers which, depending on the circumstance, constructed a place of comedy, darkness, romance or - usually when Great Power disagreement loomed - of terrifying unpredictability palpitating on the very fringe of civilised Europe.

Clearly, this dominant signifying system emerged from, and fed into, a pronounced refusal to grant the Balkan region the possibilities of independence - a presumption so central to my theme, and so widespread during the period, that it demands substantial emphasis. Even when the traveller questioned current colonial rule (the 'Ottoman barbarity' in Bulgaria, say, or Austrian illegality in their occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), there was rarely any doubt that the Balkans required governance from an external source, whether that source was an individual power or a collection of western European states. Brown's reflections on the future of Albania is a reasonable example in kind. Unable to conceive the territory as anything but subordinate to an imperial authority, his contemplation of the inevitable Ottoman withdrawal leads not to an outline of the kind of internal administration that might follow, but simply to the idea 'that the

² It is crucial to keep in mind that, as Porter writes, 'the colonies were not the *only* manifestations of [British] predominance. Other countries outside the empire could be dominated or controlled by one means or another from Britain almost as closely as her colonies' (Porter, *Short History*, p. 2).

nation which gets this country, and imagines it has got hold of something valuable, will deserve our sincere sympathy.'³ As a more pointed example, W.J. Stillman claims, in a generally supportive study of the insurrection in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that 'an impossible autonomy' is less the answer than a Great Power commission operating a 'system of patriarchal despotism'.⁴ Similarly, as two more amongst numerous examples, D.T. Ansted concludes a survey of Transylvania, along with other Hungarian-held regions, by cautioning that its 'material prosperity' is only possible 'if the people will be content to be quietly governed', and Robert Munro concludes his journal on the western Balkans by lauding the 'conspicuous improvements' brought about by Austro-Hungarian rule.⁵ Speaking of the 'trumpery governments' of Serbia and the Danubian Principalities, R. Arnold would even prefer to see these autonomous regions 'fall beneath the crown of the Kaiser', than 'their scandalous autonomy' continue.⁶ The vital point about the line of argument pursued by these, and so many other writers is less whether it contained any validity than the fact it was quite simply the only conclusion that could be drawn from the styles of representation within which travellers found themselves working. After constructing such a panoply of discord, savagery and violence, often threatening to engulf the civilised West, the only solution likely to occur to the imperial imagination was a clamp-down by some external source. This advocacy of colonial rule might have been explicitly stated by the writer, or might have been left as an implicit consequence of textual representation for the readership to discern, but was in my reading the dominant political thread running through the texts of the period.⁷

It is at this point that we reach the connection between representational styles and British political strategy. Despite the various shifts in policy, and whatever political

³ Brown, *Winter in Albania*, pp. 159-60. Elsewhere, Brown develops the point by denying the need for a written Albanian [57] and stressing the necessity for 'external influence' if Albania is ever to progress[116].

⁴ Stillman, *Herzegovina and the Late Uprising: The Causes of the Latter and the Remedies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), pp. 12, 155,

⁵ Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. 251; Munro, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 390. While such sentiments are to be found in almost all travel texts of the period, a few more good examples would be Dunkin, *Land of the Bora*, pp. 192-5, 349-50; Best, *Excursions*, p. 139; Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 83; Le Queux, *Observer*, pp. 287, 291; Upward, *East End*, pp. 45-6, 362-3; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 159.

⁶ Arnold, *From the Levant, the Black Sea, and the Danube*, 2 Vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1868), II, 235-6.

⁷ James Minchin's *The Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula* (1886) is a rare exception to this rule.

differences there might have been, the British goal in south-east Europe was to achieve a stable, relatively peaceful arrangement that would help ensure both British interests throughout the East and Great Power harmony within Europe. This goal required an effective block on any encroachment upon the region by a hostile power, as well as the maintenance of the geopolitical status quo amongst the Balkan countries themselves. Now although Britain was not about to do all this herself, it would certainly help those who could. For the majority of the nineteenth century, as I have mentioned, this meant bolstering the Porte, that 'Sick Man of Europe' whose increasingly insecure standing demanded constant, and very apparent, attendance if it were to continue to check Russian and south Slavonic interests. It would later mean the approval of Austrian expansionism in the region, but whichever strategy prevailed, there was a need for an understanding of the Balkans as a territory suited to colonial rule, and the dominant representational paradigm supplied that understanding. In this section, by drawing together representation and political desire, my aim is not to chart British policy in full, but to pick four major features of its involvement in the region and, moving through the period under study, attempt to detail the manner in which textual representation helped both exonerate that involvement and maintain the Balkans as a subordinate culture available for Great Power manipulation.

The first sphere of involvement - to start at the most basic level - involves the pattern of relationships the British chose to establish amongst the host populations of the Balkans. The maintenance abroad of rather inflexible forms of social decorum, whether from fear of transgression or fear of dissolution, was a pronounced attribute of Victorian travel, and tended to include an extremely careful policing of the boundary between self and other. Naturally, in the relatively accommodating social landscape of a British colony the result was a rigid clustering within expatriate communities.⁸ In a region like the Balkans, encountering that mass of indigenes in the absence of compatriots, more often than not the Briton would associate with that class closest to his own rank and station: the colonial overlord. The thing is certainly true of those military advisors, diplomatic staff and newspaper correspondents who found themselves - to borrow Edith Durham's

⁸ Cook gives a good sketch of the highly insular nature of British colonial society in India, in Cook, *Colonial Encounters*, pp. 124-36. Interestingly, Buzard finds the same insularity occurring in nineteenth-century British tourism: James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 87-8.

phrase - stationed at 'some intolerable hole' in the Ottoman dominions.⁹ The British may have had occasional doubts about the advisability of Ottoman rule, but outside their own limited circles it was the Ottoman authorities the British knew professionally and socially, drawn to them not only by the Ottoman's status as the major power player in the region, and the one therefore necessary to court, but also by the 'civilised' standards the two parties generally shared in education, cuisine, entertainment and domestic comfort.¹⁰ These relationships with the colonial authorities, when set alongside the dominant representational paradigm of the indigenous population as a disreputable peasantry inclined towards semi-barbarism,¹¹ all of them utterly unrecognised as individuals, tended to set the tone for relationships of a more governmental variety.

To illustrate my point, the memoirs of long term expatriates in south-east Europe are particularly pertinent, the writings of a consul like William Graves in Macedonia, for example, or a military attaché like J.C. Fife-Cookson in Bulgaria, revealing the respectful relations that could accrue between the British and the Ottoman governors, landowners and military officials.¹² While accepting their value, however, I prefer to turn to one of the most interesting works of travel from the period, Edward Lear's *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Albania*, first published in 1851. Although mostly remembered for his nonsense verse, Lear was primarily a painter and illustrator of immense ambition, and his determined search for the picturesque inspired long journeys around the classical landscapes of the Mediterranean, including - in the autumn of 1848 - the trip through

⁹ Durham, *The Sarajevo Crime* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925), p. 11. The same occurred in the Austrian regions, where again there was very little contact achieved with the indigenous peasantry: see the pattern of relationships pursued by Wingfield in *A Tour of Dalmatia* (1859), Dunkin in *In the Land of the Bora* (1897), Holbach in *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1910), Henderson in *A British Officer in the Balkans* (1909) and Whitwell in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (c.1909).

¹⁰ Both Todorova and Norris concur: see Maria Todorova, 'The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention', *Slavic Review* 53, No. 2 (Summer 1994), p. 465; Norris, *Wake of the Balkan Myth*, p. 6. The latter writes: 'it was possible for British travellers to establish a *modus vivendi* with the authorities there who acted as their hosts and were men of power and influence in the world; while the local Christian population was excluded from public life, colonized and downtrodden [...]. British travellers felt that their meetings with the Turks were like the coming together of two imperialistic nations able to appreciate their mutual success' (Ibid., p. 6).

¹¹ On the whole, Stillman is correct in saying that the peasantry were a people 'with whom the casual traveller has no intercourse' (Stillman, *Herzegovina*, p. 39).

¹² See Graves, *Storm Centres of the Near East: Personal Memories 1879-1929* (1933) and Lieut-Colonel Fife-Cookson, *With the Armies of the Balkans and at Gallipoli in 1877-1878* (1879).

Macedonia and Albania. For this, Lear was not averse to reaping the benefits of colonial society, despite his willingness for solitary travel. A former residence in Corfu, for example, then an important British colony crammed with officers, government men and their families, had already familiarised him with what could be considered the rather imperial process of procuring 'idyllic scenery and picturesque natives [...] with all the comforts of the Home Counties.'¹³ For Ottoman Albania, only four miles to the east, his friendship with such venerable diplomats as Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, had secured for Lear the travel permits and letters of introduction which offered a similar range of perks and privileges to those of British Corfu. This was perhaps as well, since Lear understood Albania to be not just 'a puzzle of the highest order' but a place of 'savage oddity' well known 'for the ferocity of the aborigines'.¹⁴ His worst fears seem realised as soon as his boat lands at Thessaloniki: 'Instantly the wildest confusion seized all', he writes, as a welter of Jewish porters fight over his luggage with 'the most furious hair-pulling, turban-clenching, and robe-tearing', only desisting when government troops give them a 'severe beating [with] sticks and whips'[20]. The images of chaos and violence mount as Lear travels from the coast into Albanian regions, where the wretched towns, infested lodgings, thievery, hostility and, above all, occasional threats to his person, test the patience of this most good-natured of English travellers. The landscape may have delighted the artist, and driven him onward in his journey, yet his response is one of shocked distaste when imagining the terrible prospect of having to pass one's life in this 'strange and fearful' region.

Within such an apparently impossible society, it comes as no surprise that Lear has very little genuine interaction with the indigenous population. The only sustained contact he achieves, apart from with those employed to serve him, comes during visits to the region's scattered 'upper class' - the foreign doctors, consular staff, priests and, most commonly, the Ottoman governors and landowners. Although complaining that these provincial 'beys and pashas [...] lose much time in ceremony'[60], they offer Lear not only the chance of conversation, decent food and accommodation - luxuries not

¹³ Susan Hyman, ed., *Edward Lear in the Levant: Travels in Albania, Greece and Turkey in Europe 1848-9* (London: John Murray, 1988), p. 37. For a sketch of British society on Corfu, and Lear's ambivalent response to it, see Vivien Noakes, *Edward Lear: The Life of a Wanderer* (London: Collins, 1968), pp. 132-151.

¹⁴ Lear, *Landscape Painter*, pp. 11, 51, 31.

unappreciated 'in wilds such as these'[69] - but also a certain security, furnishing him with further letters of introduction and the constant company of a 'Kawas', or armed guardian. An example of the latter's usefulness comes during his frustrated attempts to sketch the Muslim population, an example that also reveals the deep political complicity that could result from British-Ottoman relations. No sooner does Lear begin his work than the crowds, considering pictorial representation the work of the devil, start hiding, shouting, whistling and, more often than not, pelting him with 'unceasing showers of stones, sticks, and mud'[47]. In the town of Berat, having been exasperated by this sort of thing before, he wastes no time in arranging the solution:

Having a letter to the Pasha [...], I sent Giorgio with a request for a Kawas, who shortly arrived, and after early dinner I began to sketch (there is no time to be lost in places so full of interest) on the riverside below the castle, [with] hundreds of people pouring forth to see my operations; but all were violently repelled by the active guardian Kawas with a stick, which he threw with all his force at the legs of such unlucky individuals as pressed too closely on me or interfered with the view. When this club was ejected from the incensed authority's hand the rush to escape was frightful and the yells of those who received the blows very disagreeable to my feelings. [102]

Disagreeable as they are, Lear neither calls off the 'Kawas', nor allows the 'frightful' beating to interrupt his work, but conspires in a brutal rout by which the population becomes doubly 'subject' - both of Lear's artistic desire and to Ottoman colonial dominion. This dual subjugation, in turn, feeds into the binary opposition constructed by the passage between the population and their colonial masters: though the form of discipline wielded by the guard is primitive, this representative of the Ottoman authority constitutes the forces of a law, order and government that contrast to the uneducated, undisciplined, threatening mob standing between Lear and his 'pursuit of knowledge'[38], as he considers his art. Ottoman rule does not get his unequivocal support, in other words, but it certainly constitutes a welcome, amenable alternative to indigenous disorder.¹⁵ While such passages seem wholly reprehensible today, one

¹⁵ Tellingly, he goes so far as to term another enraged crowd his 'enemies'(Ibid., p. 47). Lear's rather ambivalent attitude to Ottoman rule of Albania is seen in his direct discussion of the issue on p. 56. As Wolff writes on the complicity of westerner and Ottoman authority: 'The traveler in Eastern Europe

imagines that an imperial readership, familiar with the need for disciplining colonial subjects, and aware of the perils of an indigenous mob, would have found little to censure in either Lear pursuing his aims above the wishes of the colonised population, or in aligning himself with the forces of colonial power. Indeed, Lear's favour for the Ottoman rulers over their subjects would simply have helped extend that preference for the coloniser into the non-British dominions of the Balkans.¹⁶

This collaboration of interests against the indigenous population becomes even clearer when one moves to the sphere of national relations between Britain and the Porte. In establishing financial, military and diplomatic support for the Ottoman Empire, British imperial policy was, like Lear's artistic pursuits, and reflecting the strategies of other Great Powers in south-east Europe,¹⁷ conducted with sole regard to the furtherance of its own interests, showing scant regard for indigenous wishes, and little understanding of what those wishes actually were. The effects of that policy, and the patterns of representation that supported it, are best illustrated by the British response to the Eastern Crisis of 1875 to 1878, a collection of uprisings, suppressions and wars that finally thrust the Balkans into the British popular consciousness.¹⁸ Although the crisis began in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875, where economic hardship and the awakening of national sentiment had incited the Christian peasantry to rebellion, it quickly spread across the peninsula, with insurrection breaking out in Bulgaria in May 1876 and both

found himself casually implicated in the brutality of oppression and slavery just by the conditions of travel, just in the arrangement of food, lodgings, transport, and security' (Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 74).

¹⁶ For further examples of close personal relations with Ottoman authorities, see Fife-Cookson's *With the Armies of the Balkans*, Baker's *War in Bulgaria* (1879) and Walker's *Through Macedonia* (1864). While the stoning of British travellers was rare in the Balkans (see also Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 84; Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, pp. 123, 204; and Tozer, *Researches*, I, 354) travellers beating the locals was more common: see Hobhouse, *Albania*, pp. 77, 80; Henderson, *British Officer*, p. 193; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 17; Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, p. 205; Wright, *Adventures*, p. 46; and Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 132-3.

¹⁷ See, for example, Robin Okey's study of German expansionism in eastern Europe and the representations deployed to justify it: Okey, 'Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the Definitions', *Past and Present*, No. 137 (Nov. 1992), p. 115.

¹⁸ For British perceptions of the Balkans, it would be difficult to underestimate the significance of the events of the 1870s. The period formed the first real challenge to Ottoman hegemony in the Balkans, and one that both increased British political involvement in the Empire and developed the pattern of representation that condoned that involvement. For a condensed and detailed account respectively, see Macfie, *Eastern Question*, pp. 34-45, and Glenny, *Balkans*, pp. 70-160.

Serbia and Montenegro declaring war on the Porte a month later. With the amount of Great Power interest in the region, it was always unlikely that events would go unnoticed. Russia and Austria were both intent on increasing their respective spheres of influence, and after a series of abortive attempts were made to check Ottoman military successes against the rebels, Russia finally declared war in April 1877. For Britain, interestingly, the Russian declaration further split an already divided public opinion. The dominant mood was certainly for Disraeli,¹⁹ who advocated shoring up the Porte in order to check Russia and its ambitions for an independent Bulgaria under Russian influence. Yet there was a small, though vocal, minority outraged by Ottoman reprisals against the Balkan population. This was led by William Gladstone, the leader of the Opposition, and a political strategist under no illusion about the efficacy of travel literature for the moulding of public opinion. The life of Christians led 'under Turkish mastery,' as he wrote in his preface to one journal of the 1870s, 'was a life never knowing real security or peace [...]. A life which never had any of the benefits of law [...]. A life which left to the Christian nothing, except what his Mahommedan master did not chance to want.'²⁰

In the face of the threat to Ottoman integrity, the discourse of balkanism, with its images of a ferocious, unruly, primitive Balkan populace, proved a cogent means by which to exonerate Britain's preservation of the Porte for a domestic readership. The polemical *A Residence in Bulgaria* (1869), by S.G.B. St. Clair and Charles Brophy, is one amongst many examples of how such exoneration was textually conducted. Writing at a time when Russia was encouraging natives to revolt, and worried about calls for enforcing improvements to the Sultan's treatment of Christian subjects, these two 'sincere friends of Turkey' make their support for the Ottoman administration an explicit theme in the text: 'An absolute and powerful government,' they proclaim, 'or a vigorous aristocracy, are the schoolmasters of an infant people' for whom 'liberty, when it is neither won nor deserved, degenerates into licence, and can produce only disorder and stagnation'.²¹ The only solution, therefore, is a 'genuine Turkish administration untrammelled by foreign influence'[vii]. The view is reinforced by allocating such

¹⁹ As Booth writes, favouritism towards the Ottomans was 'the learning of the average Englishman' (Booth, *Trouble*, p. 115). St. Clair and Brophy are unusual in claiming that - at least on Bulgaria - the opposite was in fact the case (see St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, pp. vi-vii, 158-9).

²⁰ Gladstone, 'Preface' to MacKenzie and Irby, *Travels*, p. xiii.

²¹ St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, pp. 203, 368-9.

discord, savagery and backwardness to the Bulgarian peasantry that a reader is left in no doubt about their aptitude for licence and unsuitability for self-rule. The most pertinent illustration in kind comes at the start of the opening chapter, in which the authors' portrait of a typical village doubles as an overture to that set of essentialised characteristics of the national *genius* which made up the representational paradigm. In a systematic recital of obscurantism, disorder and underdevelopment, the authors depict 'brownish' settlements 'not easily seen from a distance', 'cottages apparently thrown together without order', enclosures 'in every stage of dilapidation' and farming implements 'unaltered in form since the earliest days of agriculture'. Then, as the eye of the narrator settles on the rural public houses, the text goes on:

before the door of each is collected a knot of men, sitting cross-legged on the ground, occupied in drinking, smoking, and discussing their own and their neighbours' affairs, very much as if they were Englishmen in England, except that, as the drugged wine produces its effect, a dispute arises, and they start to their feet abusing one another with all the facile eloquence of Slavonic vituperation, and draw their knives with more than Italian gesticulation. The Italian *coltellata* is, however, seldom given in these public quarrels, for woman, the universal peacemaker, appears upon the scene, armed with persuasive words and a thick stick. But though her verbal or manual arguments may stay the impending strife, she too often shares the proverbial fate of 'those who in quarrels interpose,' [...] and wives are as soundly thrashed in Bulgaria as in Lancashire or Clerkenwell.²²

After the disorder and backwardness of rural Bulgaria have been established, this evocation of endemic violence - of which only a section is reproduced here - becomes the passage's controlling image, a violence occurring not only between racial groups, as the authors develop elsewhere, but within both the ethnically-homogenous community and that most fundamental tenet of Victorian sensibility, the family unit. More importantly, members of the community lack any internal source from which to solve their internecine conflicts. The necessary restraint can come neither from the village patriarchs (with their 'facile eloquence') nor from the 'thick stick' of their womenfolk, and the final impression

²² Ibid., pp. 2-3. The authors go on to say that, when drunk, the Bulgarian 'prefers to stab his adversary at an advantage, or to adopt the more silent vengeance of poison'[3].

is of a helplessly perpetuated discord that clearly requires more - rather than less - vigorous policing on the part of an external presence; on the part, that is, of the Sultan.²³ It is at this point that the passage's allusion to the English working classes gains a certain poignancy. The deployment of comparisons between Britain and the Balkans - of Bulgarian homesteads like 'English cottages', a Bosnian landscape like 'English country', of Serbian pasture like 'an English park'²⁴ - was an intrinsic part of the Victorian and Edwardian denigration of the region, indicating the full distance between these poles of Europe by the ironic placement of civilised qualities in this grossly uncivilised context. This is undoubtedly at work in this passage. Yet at the same time, the author's allusions to 'Englishmen in England', and particularly to working class violence, seem to play on the Victorian readership's increasing fears of an expanding proletariat, and do so in a way that recalls how closely cross-cultural discourse can mirror the discourses of class, the both working to legitimate forms of bourgeois cultural authority. Certainly, St. Clair and Brophy's conclusion on the question of Bulgarian autonomy strongly reminds one of middle-class paternalism: with Bulgarians being 'brutish, obstinate, idle, superstitious, dirty', the authors write, 'can anyone say that he is capable of being civilised without a long and difficult course of preparation?'[408]

The political sympathy that informs the writing of St. Clair and Brophy is even clearer in a series of texts that were to emerge from British presence in the Balkans during the war of 1877-8. In a manner that would characterise the national response to Balkan crises, the Russo-Ottoman conflict was attended by a flood of reporters, doctors, relief workers and military volunteers, as well as those Britons - consuls, military attachés - employed in more official capacities. The historian of the voluntary organisations, Dorothy Anderson, tends to portray them as people of 'courage, hardiness [and] enterprise', a popular depiction of Victorians in the Balkans that seems to me to conceal both the deeper iniquity of British political involvement and the collusion with that involvement Victorian memoirs would have.²⁵ An example in kind is the

²³ On the internal discord of the Bulgarians, Charles Eliot would later write, 'One is tempted to believe that wherever there are three Bulgarians, two will combine against the third, and the third call in foreign assistance' (Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 352).

²⁴ Berger, *City of Pleasure*, 26; Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 70; Kinglake, *Eothen*, p. 38.

²⁵ Dorothy Anderson, *The Balkan Volunteers* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), p. 205. For other biographers who portray Victorian travellers uncritically see Ann Brown, *Before Knossos ...: Arthur Evans's Travels*

autobiographical work of Valentine Baker, an English Major-General who served in the Imperial Ottoman Army from the early days of the fighting in central Bulgaria, through the humiliating retreat across the southern Balkans to the final, desperate, defence of Constantinople. For Baker, a staunch defender of Disraelian belligerence abroad, no quarter should be given to either the Russian imperialists or the Bulgarian insurgents. The latter were, on the one hand, enduring no particular hardship before Russia stirred up 'religious strife', often inhabiting 'very prosperous' villages in 'perfect amity' with their Muslim neighbours.²⁶ On the other hand, Baker is in no doubt about the Bulgarian degeneracy, for here were a people who live in filth and disorder, perpetrate 'fearful atrocities' and 'brutalities' on the Muslim population, and also, in an infuriating instance of Balkan obfuscation, 'give no information which could be in any way relied upon.'²⁷ Indeed, so sure is Baker that the Bulgarians are undeserving of sympathy that his command of the Ottoman force is depicted with a glory, pathos and tragedy with which the reader is clearly being invited to empathise. The point is illustrated by his sketch of the battle at 'Tashkessen', where Baker's troops, including Bosnians and Albanians, achieve a victory over the Russians that gains this 'daring Englishman'²⁸ promotion to Lieutenant-General. On the moment of triumph, when his men 'climbed upon the rocks, their faces fierce with the light of battle [...], and hurled out defiance at the retiring foe', Baker writes

There are moments in the past of many a man's career that stand out clear and defined after the lapse of even many years: life-pictures, the very memory of which brings back a glorious thrill of pride and pleasure. This is the feeling which vibrates through me still, when I recall that last and closing scene which crowned the hard-fought fight of Tashkessen. [II, 157]

in *the Balkans and Crete* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), pp. 84-5; John Lehmann, *Edward Lear and his World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

²⁶ Baker, *War in Bulgaria*, I, 273-4

²⁷ Ibid., I, 255; I, 320; I, 9; II, 276. This very pro-Ottoman pattern of representation, mixing imputed Bulgarian degeneracy with general inter-ethnic harmony under the Porte, is repeated by Fife-Cookson's depiction of pre-war Bulgarian society, in Fife-Cookson, *Armies of the Balkans*, pp. 52-6, 104-5.

²⁸ Frederick William von Herbert, *By-Paths in the Balkans* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1906), p. 15. Baker tended to draw very positive comment from his contemporaries; see also Fife-Cookson, *Armies of the Balkans*, p. 146; Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years*, pp. 89-92.

Such emotionalism, in reflecting the sentiment surrounding purely British campaigns, reminds one that Baker's allegiance to the Porte is first and foremost an allegiance to Britain. With the Russian policy being 'to sap the foundations of our Indian Empire', as he himself puts it, Britain must offer Turkey 'that true and honest assistance which will enable her to reorganise her empire on an established and permanent footing', and do so 'with the same energy and determination that characterised our forefathers, and which enabled them to raise the British Empire to the pinnacle of greatness and influence' [II, 389, 386-7, 391]. According to this stridently patriotic imperial vision, not only is support for Balkan national aspirations absent from British policy, but British policy is actively dependent on their continued subjugation to the Sultan.

The support of national strategy in south-east Europe was not always as explicitly stated in autobiographical writings. The interest of many of the texts lies, as suggested, in how the conceptual structures of balkanism legitimise the dominant political intent - the continuation of Ottoman rule - while seeming to have no overt stake in the political debate. Brown may foresee the Ottoman departure from Albania, for example, but his continual evocation of Albanian backwardness, violence and disorder - and this during an age when such attributes were seen to characterise colonised populations - produces no sense that their departure is an urgent political requirement. Interestingly, the same result can occur in travelogues whose stance on the Eastern Question is ostensibly anti-Ottoman. Henry Barkley is trenchant of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria, in both *Between the Danube and Black Sea* (1876) and *Bulgaria Before the War* (1877), yet at the same time his portrait of the indigenous populations relies so strongly on balkanist paradigms that self-rule seems neither possible nor desirable.²⁹ In *Service in Serbia Under the Red Cross* (1877), Emma Pearson and Louisa McLaughlin even depict the autonomous Serbia, whose people they have gone over to nurse, with the familiar mixture of backwardness and barbarism, giving no sense of why Serbia had warranted autonomy or could deserve

²⁹ See also Walker, *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes* (1864) and Strangford, *Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863*. The same is even true of those Britons who sided with the anti-Ottoman alliance of the 1870s, disparaging the 'Turks', yet finding little to admire amongst the populations with whose cause they claimed to sympathise: see Stillman, *Herzegovina and the Late Uprising* (1877), in which the author actually denies the insurgents any immediate possibility of independence, Wright, *Adventures in Serbia* (1884) and Robert Jasper More, *Under the Balkans* (1877).

independence.³⁰ Indeed, during the late 1870s, so steadily were balkanist representations circulating in the homeland that it was no real wonder the Turkophiles finally got their way. After Russia defeated the Porte in the war, Disraeli had wasted no time in revoking the Treaty of San Stefano - by which Russia wrangled an enlarged Bulgaria likely to facilitate its control of Constantinople and the Straits - and helping to convene a conference at Berlin to achieve a more satisfactory peace. For the pro-Ottoman lobby, so ably supported by balkanist writing, the so-called Treaty of Berlin was a resounding 'victory'³¹: a substantial portion of Bulgaria was returned to the Porte, Russia pushed back from Constantinople, and the Ottoman Empire granted a reprieve. The routes to India had been preserved.

Denying the possibility of independence to the Balkan regions was not the only consequence of the representational strategy of travellers and expatriates. Along with its justification of continued Ottoman rule in the region, such strategy also created a kind of political distance between south-east Europe and the West, a sense of mutual isolation, or extreme disassociation, which effectively masked the intimacy that western diplomacy often had with Balkan misfortune. After all, that bloody, incessantly turbulent peninsula met with in British travel writing must have seemed to bear scant relation indeed to the peaceful and morally irreproachable civilisation at the other end of Europe, especially in those texts that refused allusion to the West's 'Near Eastern' policies. Once that all important reference was elided,³² the existence and adverse results of western policy

³⁰ 'It is a great mistake of the wellwishers of these lands,' they write, 'to use enthusiastic terms in praising this people', and go on to add, 'we could not admit that the nation was far on the path of progress, or even likely to influence European politics. The people were no better than those of other lands' (Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, pp. 347-8). The authors accept Serbian autonomy, but categorically, and repeatedly, deny any legitimacy to the extension of that territory that the Serbians desired (see *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 15-6, 25).

³¹ Anderson's epithet for the treaty: M.S. Anderson, ed., *The Great Powers and the Near East, 1774-1923* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), p. 108. After mentioning its deleterious effects on Bulgaria and Macedonia, he says: 'Serbia and Montenegro gained relatively little by the treaty and Greece nothing; this disregard of the ambitions and claims of the small Balkan nationalities was its most fundamental defect' (*Ibid.*, p. 109). Brantlinger, recognising the importance of the Ottoman Empire to British imperial designs, writes that 'a crusading spirit - [...] always at least implicitly imperialist - informs most nineteenth-century British writing that took the Near East for its subject' (Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p. 137).

³² Upward's allusion to '[t]he Europe which plays the part of Providence for the Balkan world' (Upward, *East End*, p. 50), is unusual.

were irrevocably lost within the more visible imagery, and evaluation, of balkanist discourse. The effects of western-sanctioned Ottoman rule in Macedonia, for example, or the extraordinarily disastrous effects of the Berlin Conference (which, by handing southern Bulgaria to the Porte, handing Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Dual Monarchy, and drawing up insensitive borders elsewhere, effectively ensured future bloodshed across the peninsula), became less a part and parcel of Great Power interference than simply the consequence of those congenital flaws that had always bedevilled the Balkans.

This creation of distance in British travel writing is important to introduce, as it was central to the next feature of British involvement in the Near East I wish to analyse, that of financial investment. After the economically crippling effects of the Crimean War, the Ottoman government commenced upon a series of loans from public and private institutions in the West which, due to its increasingly lavish scale, drew the Empire into an ever-degenerating spiral of expenditure, borrowing and debt. By 1874, some £200 million had been issued to the Porte on the London market alone, the payment of debt coming to account for an extraordinary 43.9 per cent of national revenue. As Misha Glenny has shown, the outcome for the Empire was not only lack of internal investment and infrastructural development, but an onerous tax burden on the Balkan peasantry which resulted, particularly after the financial crash of 1873, in many of those problems - widespread famine, poverty and discontent - that balkanists were blaming on the indigenes.³³ As Glenny goes on to mention, this unquenchable search for investment in eastern Europe did not limit itself to the Ottoman government. At the end of the nineteenth century, once their ties with the Porte finally loosened, the Great Powers had advanced loans to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria and, with much of that money being spent amongst the western arms manufacturers (strong national armies being deemed as useful an obstacle to Russian advance as a strong Ottoman Empire), bankruptcy and western control over domestic economies began to prevail throughout the region.³⁴

³³ Glenny claims 'that a combination of European fiscal recklessness and Turkish [sic] profligacy played an important role in sparking off the Great Eastern Crisis: Glenny, *Balkans*, p. 90. In this section, I am indebted to Glenny's discussion of British financial involvement [see pp. 84-90].

³⁴ See *Ibid.*, pp. 219-221. See also the financial clauses of Treaty of Berlin: in W.N. Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin and After* (London: Methuen, 1938), pp. 409-419. Okey writes that '[t]he pattern [of the period] appears to be one of a chain of increasingly dependent economies, each one in turn more heavily fettered to its more powerful Western neighbours' (Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 117). See Jelavich, *History*, p. 23; and John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From*

An early example of the elision in travel writing of the crippling effects of debt on the independent states comes in Florence Berger's portrait of Romania in *A Winter in the City of Pleasure* (1877). Formed from the united principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Romanian state had been established less than twenty years before Berger's sojourn, and amongst the various difficulties to emerge was the necessity to cover the cost of building its army, roads, railways and civic development with foreign capital. The onerous task of meeting even the interest repayments on these loans, an unheard of burden before the union, was becoming increasingly unlikely by the 1870s (the high taxation of the peasantry having already led to eviction, impoundment, and sporadic unrest), and in 1877 the deficit was such that Berger claims nothing could 'save Roumania from the bankruptcy which must overwhelm her at no very distant date.'³⁵ The important point about her portrait of the country, however, is that while reference to national debt is made, the economic problems plaguing the country are ascribed to wholly local, even congenital, factors. Of central concern is what she views as the depravity of the boyars, or landed gentry: it is this dissolute group of land-owners, given to gambling, licentiousness and profligacy, that has made Bucharest not only a place of terrible moral 'corruption'[73] - the author terming it 'the 'Babylon of the Apocalypse'[134] - but also one of unrelieved economic 'wretchedness'[45]. The boyar's mixture of extravagance and sloth, for instance, lies behind the city's startling inequalities, its grinding poverty, and its thorough absence of any high cultural landmarks.³⁶ At the same time, such iniquities have also devastated the countryside, a point Berger makes through contrasting the boyar, and his decadent lifestyle, with that of

Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 210-236.

³⁵ Berger, *City of Pleasure*, p. 235.

³⁶ Culturally, Bucharest is evoked negatively: 'no traveller comes to Bucharest either out of curiosity or a desire for amusement. There are no temples as on the Acropolis [...]; no frescoes as in the Sistine Chapel; no perfect specimens of a lost art, as in the coloured windows of the Dom at Köln. There are no opera-houses as on the Boulevard des Capucines and in the Opera-Ring; no *cafés* as at Naples; no bull-fights as at Seville; no dancing dervishes as at Pera; no skating-rinks and polo-clubs as in London' [39]. For similar descriptions, see O'Brien, *Journal*, p. 75; Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, p. 164. There is also Lear's sketch of an Albanian inn as 'a negative abode, and quite out of the question as a lodging for the night, for there were no walls to the rooms, no ceiling, no floors, no roofs, no windows, no anything' (Lear, *Landscape Painter*, p. 93).

the peasant from whom the boyar draws his income. 'What points of resemblance are there,' Berger asks,

between that well-dressed cynical offshoot of a hot-bed civilisation, the fit of whose gloves is of more moment to him than the rise and fall of empires, who reclines back in his elegant carriage that is paid for (if it be paid for at all) by the tithes wrung from the toil of his wretched brother [...] - and that degraded son of the soil who pashes doggedly along in the mire with soddened rags bound round his feet and legs by thongs, a foul sheepskin dangling from his shoulders, his brown bosom bare to the winter's blast, his long matted hair falling over his face and eyes? [74-5]

This rather romantic sketch of rural poverty ('his brown bosom bare to the winter's blast') should not be taken as a form of unconditional sympathy. For Berger, the corruption to be found within the gentry is merely part of a self-perpetuating cycle of economic helplessness by which the boyar's rapacity produces 'moral depression' and 'apathetic stupor' amongst the peasantry, as the victim of rapacity 'bows his head and makes no effort at all to improve his condition'[148-9], which in turn strengthens the hand of the boyar. As with most other travellers of the times, it is not the country's independent standing with which Berger is at odds: on the subject of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro, all of whom had their independence ratified at Berlin, British travellers tended to concede that there was no going back to the days of Ottoman suzerainty.³⁷ What seemed a long time way off, however, was the accordance to these states of the respect shown to Germany or Italy, with the three often being evoked with the same balkanism through which the colonised regions were being viewed; a balkanism which, in creating a sense of distance between the two poles of Europe, would be seen to blame economic and social crises on innate factors rather than on its entrance into a globalising economy that had already left the Balkans far behind.³⁸

³⁷ Ozanne and Arnold are significant exceptions, believing - respectively - that Romania and Serbia should pass back to imperial rule (see Ozanne, *Three Years*, pp. 225-6; Arnold, *From the Levant*, II, 235-6). At the same time, Wingfield, Strangford, Stillman, Miller and Creagh all question the legitimacy, or value, of one Balkan nation or another (see Wingfield, *Tour in Dalmatia*, pp. 210-17; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, pp. 312-4; Stillman, *Herzegovina*, p. 151; Miller, *Travels and Politics*, pp. 91, 118; Creagh, *Over the Borders*, I, 99, 278).

³⁸ There is something in the comment of the Hungarian who, reputedly, exclaims to Crosse, 'You Britishers are rash in your impatient criticism of a state which has not come to its full growth. It is

Up until now I have primarily focused on the mid-Victorian period, a time in which the conceptual structures of balkanism, and the writer's confident handling of those structures, came to achieve their full expression. During the decades to come, however, balkanism would be far from a static discourse. The late nineteenth century was one of accelerated nationalism in the Ottoman and Austrian dominions, and as insurrectionist activity in areas like Macedonia and southern Bulgaria looked set to free them from the Porte, rivalry, hostility, mutual suspicion and fears for continental peace and stability began to grow throughout western Europe. This accretion of Great Power animosity, a significant feature of high imperialism, in turn gave rise to a certain intensification of balkanist discourse, as British and American travelogues on Macedonia would exemplify. Here, a group of reporters, many of them young men, began playing more systematically on the motifs of intrigue, discord and violence, as well as on the registers of suspense and romance, conscious of the region's reputation as a threat not merely to the safety of the travelling personage but to the peace of an entire continent. The Balkans were, to cite two of those writers, 'hotbeds of outlawry and brigandage, where you must travel with a revolver in each pocket and your life in your hand'. and where the rivalries surrounding this 'hell-pot of anarchy' would inevitably create 'a grave crisis for [...] Europe'.³⁹ Even though the condemnation of Ottoman rule had become pronounced,⁴⁰ the indigenous population hardly received any preferential treatment. The late nineteenth century was the period, in short, when 'Balkan' emerged as the geographical designation for these free nations, but also began hovering somewhere between geographical expression and evaluative judgement.

An important feature of the period, and the final one for our theme, was the growing interest of travellers in Austro-Hungarian imperialism in the Balkans. The Habsburgs had long harboured ambitions for eastern expansion, although, like Britain,

hardly thirty years since we emerged from the middle ages, so to speak; and you expect our civilisation to have the well-worn polish of Western States' (Crosse, *Carpathians*, pp. 196-7).

³⁹ de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 11; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, pp. 291, 290. For other examples of work on Macedonia, see Booth, *Trouble in the Balkans* (1905), Moore, *The Balkan Trail* (rpt. ed., 1971), Wyon, *The Balkans Within* (1904), Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour* (1903) and Smith, *Fighting the Turk* (1908)

⁴⁰ Herbert's *By-Paths in the Balkans* (1906), Upward's *The East End of Europe* (1908) Macfie's *With Gypsies in Bulgaria* (1916) are three very rare examples of a pro-Ottoman stance in the early twentieth century.

had tended to prefer a curtailment of Russian interest in the region to actual territorial acquisition. With the events of the 1870s, however, the time seemed ripe for a more aggressive policy. At the Congress of Berlin, Austria gained the right to administer not only the Ottoman territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a lucrative territory contiguous to Austrian Dalmatia, but also the *sandzak* of Novi Pazar, a slice of what is now southern Serbia that would gain the 'imperialists' a powerful foothold in the Central Balkans. In 1908, with both Serbian pro-Russianism and the Young Turk Revolution threatening their position, Austria finally pushed through the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, with no real opposition forthcoming, looked set to become the major power player in south-east Europe. All this found wide coverage in British travel writing of the period and, moreover, the mood amongst travellers was generally favourable to Austrian occupancy, at least until Austria's relations to the new, ambitious Germany became more ominous. Although Ottoman presence in the Balkans proved increasingly difficult to justify, this support for Austro-Hungarian colonialism illustrates how an explicit denial of self-rule to a Balkan people was still being attempted in British travel writing by the turn of the twentieth century.

William Miller's *Travels and Politics in the Near East* (1898) is an example of how this late justification of Empire worked. In a manner typical of the period, his broad, extensive survey of the Balkan peninsula finds very little to admire: on the one hand, progress within such Ottoman territories as Albania and Macedonia is being held back by internal strife and barbarous administration; on the other, independent states like Serbia or Bulgaria, though their perceived religious and racial unity certainly legitimise independence, are tormented by the 'Oriental methods'⁴¹ of the indigenous governments. The only regions to gain Miller's wholehearted approval are those under what he considers the propitious rule of Austria,⁴² a view exemplified by his chapters on Bosnia-Herzegovina, where in 'perhaps the most remarkable experiment in the government of an Oriental country'[xiv] the Austrian occupation is seen to be methodically eradicating the

⁴¹ Miller, *Travels and Politics*, p. 464.

⁴² This tendency to support the independence of certain regions, while denying the national aspirations of others, is summarised in Miller's comment that 'There seems to be no reason why those independent Balkan states, whose subjects are mainly of one race and religion, should not continue to preserve their independence. But it is obvious that a Great Power, which is impartial in its treatment of conflicting races and creeds, is alone qualified to govern those debatable lands [...] where national unity is impossible' (Ibid., p. 503).

historical iniquities of Bosnian and Ottoman culture. When representing the shortcomings of the past, Miller's reliance on the signifying practice of balkanism recalls, yet again, that practice's kinship with colonial discourse.⁴³ The region is defined by its lack of those features that comprise the western nation-state, with Miller evoking primitive agriculture and undeveloped industry, as well as an abject failure to develop either the communications or governmental system required for a successful modern economy. This portrait of backwardness, itself an argument for colonial rule, is augmented by the author's constant discovery of discord, his Bosnia being that recognisable place of western fantasy where 'fanaticism'[90], 'lack of law and order'[122] and 'the animosities of rival creeds'[103] have led to a 'reign of anarchy which four centuries of Turkish rule had failed to wholly quell'[90]. With the presence of such animosity, barbarism is almost inevitable. Miller makes reference to the usual mixture of vendetta, violent crime and bloodshed, problems which at one point - should the reader fail to discern the representational influences at work - lead to a direct comparison between some 'weird-looking aborigines' along the author's route and their 'barbarian' forebears 'who struck terror into the hearts of the old Roman legionnaires'[132].

It is into this woeful condition of lack that Miller brings the plenitude of Austro-Hungarian imperialism. Befitting the duality of Bosnian past and Austrian present, symbolic of the wider duality of south-east Europe and the West, Miller constructs the imperial project as an entirely benign occupancy, whose tolerant 'respect'[117] for native ways is the clear corollary of the imputed depravity afflicting other parts of the peninsula. In the first instance, the occupation is doing much to end the discord and savagery which has ravaged Bosnian history, the author creating the impression that an improved system of law and a hard-working civil service have produced a significantly 'greater security of life and property'[96]. At the same time, backwardness is being gradually eroded through the institution of land reform, modern husbandry, road and rail networks, healthcare, education and trade; in short, all those 'solid material advantages which impartial

⁴³ The connection is no better illustrated than by a comparative reading of Miller and an example of Austro-Hungarian imperial propaganda such as J. de Asboth's *An Official Tour Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1890), the two concurring on all matters of past shortcomings and Austrian improvement.

European administration alone can bestow upon such a composite country.’⁴⁴ As St. Clair and Brophy also argue in the context of Ottoman-held Bulgaria, the ‘powers of self-government’[118] may well be awarded to Bosnia after a time, but for now, the Austrians having ‘expended large sums of money and a great store of energy in reclaiming this beautiful land from barbarism’, the idea that it ‘should [...] be allowed to go back to barbarism is an absurdity of which even the ‘Concert of Europe’ would not be guilty’[128]. Indeed, so enamoured is Miller of the successes in Bosnia, that he actually advocates further appropriation of the *sandzak* and Macedonia, an expansion which - including as it would both Thessaloniki and the major communications channel of the Vardar valley - might have brought Austrian power all the way to the Aegean. At this point, it should come as no surprise to find that his promulgation of foreign imperialism is not the detached appreciation of empire that it seems, but yet another instance of that ongoing British obsession - routes to the Far East. As Miller himself writes in a chapter on Thessaloniki (Salonika),

the development and security of Macedonia is a European, as well as a Balkan, question. I am told, by a person who has seen the plans, that Austrian engineers have surveyed the line from Sarajevo to Mitrovica, which is alone lacking to complete the chain from Western Europe by way of Bosnia and the Sandzak of Novi-Bazar to Salonika and the Aegean. If that line be completed [...] Salonika will become the greatest port in the Near East, and the quickest route to India will be through the valley of the Vardar. [388-9]

In such passages, one finds Miller’s call for the possession of the central Balkans to be ‘in the hands of the only civilised power which is sufficiently strong and sufficiently near to hold it’[186-7] becoming an essential feature of Britain’s own imperial strategy, and one which - like British support for Ottoman rule - is reliant on the ongoing subjugation

⁴⁴ Miller, *Travels and Politics*, p. 91. These ‘advantages’ are pointedly contrasted to the ‘barren and impracticable glories of the “great Servian idea”’, the dream Serbia had of regaining the territories - including Bosnia-Herzegovina - of its medieval Empire, which made Belgrade one of Austria’s major opponents in the region, and is presumably the reason why Miller is so disparaging of Serbian self-government (*Ibid.*, p. 91).

of indigenous Balkan populations.⁴⁵ It would be wrong to infer that all the travel books of the period were as explicitly pro-Austrian as Miller's. But there were few which questioned Austria-Hungary's right to be in either Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Transylvania, and their tendency to represent these parts of the Balkans as rather quaint, picturesque and ultimately peaceful regions resulted, finally, in the very same exoneration of Austro-Hungarian hegemony.⁴⁶

The above has been a brief introduction to the patterns of supremacy that underlie the British concept of the Balkans. My aim has been to show how types of personal and national activity - social relations, state alliances, financial policy - formed a framework of power with which travel writing's knowledge of the Balkans would interconnect, the two forming a tradition of signification and practice which manufactured the region as one suitable for domination. This is not to say that a writer like Lear was conscious of the imperialist bent of his work,⁴⁷ or that a political observer like Miller was anything but profoundly convinced of the benefits of imperial rule. It was simply that Britons felt themselves part of a genuinely superior culture, whose values, traditions and assessments they naturally advocated when faced with what was - to them - the pronounced inferiority of the Balkans. This binarist method of seeing, and scripting, south-east Europe had two (what we could term) political results. For Britain, such representation reinforced the fundamental *rightness* of those creeds that stood behind Victorian society, government and law, entrenching the systems of power in circulation by constructing the

⁴⁵ Evans's argument that Austria should advance in the region in order to ensure that Russian ambition is checked amounts to the same subjugation: see Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁶ For other examples of explicit support for the Austrian occupation of the western Balkans; de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, pp. 83-5, 110-1; Crosse, *Carpathians*, pp. 98; Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years*, p. 156; J.M. Neale, *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a Visit to Montenegro* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1861), pp. vi, 94; Dunkin, *Land of the Bora*, pp. 192-5; Holbach, *Dalmatia*, pp. 27; Holbach, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, pp. 16-22; Munro, *Rambles and Studies*, pp. 390-5; Hutchinson, *Motoring*, pp. 226, 260; Whitwell, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, pp. 63-4; Herderson, *British Officer*, pp. 83, 85, 216; Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, pp. 37, 42, 136, 193, 210. I will be discussing more implicit support below.

⁴⁷ This is not to say, either, that a traveller was necessarily *unconscious* of the political implications of denigratory representation. For example, O'Brien reveals a perfect awareness of those implications in his critique of the customary denigration of the Romanian principalities, a region O'Brien wants to be kept out of Russian hands. 'Let Europe be made to believe that these Principalities are barbarous tracts,' he writes, 'inhabited by a set of profligate semi-barbarians, and the crime of seizing upon them will be overlooked in the thought of the good which may be thus done to the cause of civilisation and virtue' (O'Brien, *Journal*, p. 74).

Balkans as a poignant example of what happens in their absence. For the Balkans, the signifying practices of balkanism created a region whose 'disunion and barbarism'⁴⁸ could only warrant Great Power intervention and control, a control easily justified as a beneficial, 'civilising' mission. In fact, the political implication of the motifs that travel writers included in their work is heightened when noting what they chose to leave out. In the Victorian and Edwardian periods, the historical awareness that underpinned national formation elsewhere on the continent was pointedly absent as an area of study in travel writing, as was any real consideration of regional literature, language and religion.⁴⁹ The inclusions and exclusions of balkanist signification, emerging from the self/other dynamic informing an imperial age, measured the peninsula negatively against the West's standard for nationhood, and in doing so surrendered it to western control.

It should be remembered that the will to power over the Balkans resulted, for Britain, in a markedly indirect form of rule, not in colonialism. The point indicates that the wider signifying tradition of which balkanism was a part, and which is known as colonial discourse, exonerated much more than just direct settlement or guardianship of territory, as seen more explicitly in British activity in south-east Europe during the neo-imperialist years of the late twentieth century, as I shall discuss in chapter three. Nevertheless, in surveying the Victorian relationship to the Balkans, Fabian's term 'absentee colonialism'⁵⁰ springs insistently to mind. Certainly, in the common tropes balkanism shared with colonial rhetoric, in the common comparisons between the Balkans and colonial Africa, India, Ireland and the South Seas,⁵¹ and particularly in the

⁴⁸ Muir Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, I, 86.

⁴⁹ As Minchin, a rare supporter of the region's national movements, recognised, the question of whether a people 'possess[ed] a language, a literature, a past' of their own had direct relevance to whether they would also possess 'a future of their own' (Minchin, *Growth of Freedom*, p. 179). Most travel writers of the period denied the Balkan peoples all of these. For examples of the denial of either literary, linguistic or historical significance, see, Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 25, 386, 394, 401, 414; Herbert, *By-Paths*, p. 13; Miller, *Travels and Politics*, p. 387; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, pp. 256-7; Upward, *East End*, p. 23; Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. 79; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, pp. 207-11; Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 278-81; St. Clair and Brophy were perhaps the most forthright, in claiming that the 'Rayah [...] has no history and therefore no fatherland' (St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 307).

⁵⁰ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 69.

⁵¹ Such allusions exist in almost all travel texts of the period; see Lear, *Landscape Painter*, p. 127; Wyon and Prance, *Black Mountain*, p. 254; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 202; St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 307; Creagh, *Over the Borders*, I, 84-5 318-9, 326-7, II, 254-5, 298; Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 206; Knight, *Albania*, pp. 120, 120; Walker, *Through Macedonia*, p. 82. Henderson

positions of influence Britons would commonly gain in the Ottoman 'Near East' - within the army, police force, local administrations and government⁵² - there seems to me no doubt that, if necessary, the disparagement of the region could have been stepped up at any time, and a take over of the region been justified.

I wish to turn now to another, vital component of balkanist representation. Through the preceding discussion of British power in south-east Europe, I have been emphasising national desire somewhat to the detriment of my stated interest in the travelling Britons who, after all, were the medium through which that desire found expression and justification. Indeed, what I hope to have at least introduced is that national desire could not have been pursued without the knowledge, and particularly *style of knowledge*, they produced. As my earlier comments on public schooling aimed to stress, the historical entities of the Victorian and Edwardian traveller always stood between Britain and the Balkans, travellers who, through the influences of education, professional duty and governmental policy, found themselves situated within a set of cultural traditions that restricted, channelled and foreordained their responses to such a subordinate culture. This force of tradition was, as Foucault expressed it, power in 'its capillary form', power that 'reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their actions'⁵³ and, for the Balkans, reduced the field of possible knowledge to a limited range of motifs that would work to legitimise British hegemony. In short, these travellers

and Upward, old colonial hands in India and Nigeria respectively, are particularly interesting for their continual comparisons between the travelled environment in the Balkans and their former residences (in Henderson, *British Officer*, Upward, *East End*), comparisons that also involve a clear sympathy for Austria and the Porte.

⁵² For the very real command and influence that both individuals and national commissions have gained in the Balkans, see Arnold, *From the Levant*, II, 220-1; Best, *Excursions*, p. 51; Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 153-7; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, pp. 160-70; Upward, *East End*, pp. 149-54; Woods, *Four Seas*, p. 105; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 207; Blunt, *Reminiscences*, pp. 45, 93-4, 188-9, 192-3, Graves, *Storm Centres*, pp. 200, 204, 253; Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, p. 416; Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, I, 203. See also the authors' military duties in Fife-Cookson's *With the Armies of the Balkans* (1879) and Baker's *War in Bulgaria* (1879).

⁵³ Foucault, 'Prison Talk', in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 39. Easthope also expressed it nicely when he spoke of a 'nation as an identity that can speak us even when we may think we are speaking for ourselves' (Anthony Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 5.

were not the Cartesian subject of idealism, but products of their culture, representative Britons fully mastered by local convention.

Yet the attainment of political hegemony was not the only reward to be found behind a cross-cultural discourse like balkanism. As Foucault has done much to show, subjects may be normalised by the society in which they live, and may thereby be ordered into rooted, historical entities, but in doing so partake in dominant forms of belief that tend to acknowledge their adherents with both reward and privilege. 'If power was never anything but repressive,' Foucault once asked, 'if it never did anything but say no, do you really believe that we should ever manage to obey it?'⁵⁴ This process of reward, which I shall term the remunerative quality of power, is an important part of that productivity Foucault located as one of power's primary functions, and, as British travel writing testifies, one that attains fascinating expression in the writings of those promoting, and moulded by, the discourses of national and racial superiority. And the specific reward for such promotion was the intimation of exactly what the travellers, by the very nature of their patterned responses, signally lacked: self-mastery and volition. In their construction of the Balkans as a subordinate, rightfully colonised territory, travellers not only facilitated national control, but also created an imaginative and geographical space in which to play out their fantasies of personal control, gaining in the region they had debased, and amongst the peoples they had disparaged, what they saw as a natural right to explore, order, interpret, depreciate, control, challenge and judge. This section will be dealing with these personal rewards, though will not depart from the issue of national power. The travellers were products of an imperial culture, but also symbols of that culture, and my underlying theme is that the dominance with which balkanism rewarded its adherents, in facilitating the personal control of travellers and residents over the region, also symbolised through the resultant texts the possibility and propriety of national domination.

A point I shall be emphasising, however, is that while national ambition can indeed be assisted by the cross-cultural text, and in a manner justifiably gaining the attention of today's academy, it is often the ambitions and achievements of the self that are of more concern to the traveller. The shocks, losses, upheavals, humiliations and triumphs of the journey, and their remembrance during the journey's scripting, were often of more

⁵⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 36.

immediacy than national strategy, and consequently of more urgency to negotiate and reconstruct. In fact, when discussing the binarism within travel writing, one is often dealing not with the dichotomies of social or political infrastructures, but with the dichotomy that travellers perceived between their own individual qualities and those of the locals (though the qualities of traveller and homeland - rationality, order, rectitude, civility, stability - were not mutually exclusive). In gaining sight of this more personalised opposition, travellers seem to me to be involved in two processes. The first was the absorption in full of that practical, cheerful, resiliently industrious and patriotic style of Englishness which, particularly in the late nineteenth century, was being disseminated throughout the nation - in its principalities and provinces as much as in the English public schools.⁵⁵ The second, and more significant here, was the use of their Englishness (a kind of expression of national loyalty or belonging) as a way of justifying the assumption abroad of the power the traveller conceived as the basic right of the British subject. Dealing with a region like south-east Europe, I shall be terming this second process imagined colonialism;⁵⁶ I mean by this a set of resemblances between the actions and outlook of the British in the Balkans and those of compatriots in the colonial territories, and which involves the various forms of personal attainment that identification with Englishness facilitated in an imperial age. There are six of these attainments, all types of reward or privilege, which each traveller assumed to a greater or lesser extent, and which, taken together, build up to reinforce the rigid binarism the traveller constructed between these two poles of Europe.

The first reward was the very discovery of the civilised self, and the experience of social prestige that this created for the traveller. The experience is perhaps best portrayed by some of the more short term visits to the Balkans, as the unequivocal conviction of personal superiority informing Andrew Crosse's *Round About the Carpathians* (1878) illustrates. The text recounts the author's trek through the Hungarian-held province of Transylvania in 1875, a journey that taught Crosse a respect for the Hungarian upper

⁵⁵ Englishness itself is not my theme, and I will not be outlining its composition in any depth; for various slants on the subject, I would recommend, Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture* (1999), Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness* (1987) and Rupert Wilkinson, *The Prefects* (1964). Jeremy Paxman's *The English: A Portrait of a People* (1999) is beneficial, though anecdotal.

⁵⁶ I have adapted the term from Goldsworthy's relatively untheorized 'imaginative colonisation', which lacks any notion of the intimacy between balkanist knowledge and political power (see Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 2).

classes, but certainly no liking for the mass of 'lawless' and 'exceedingly troublesome'⁵⁷ Romanian peasants he met along the route. While the balkanist tropes of obfuscation, discord and savagery occur, it is the backwardness of the Romanian villages with which the text most fully engages. For Crosse, the rural life is one of tedium, scarcity and squalor, and is sunk in such 'ignorance and lawlessness'[98] that he refuses to accept the inhabitants' claim to be descended from Roman colonists - insisting on their being 'Wallacks', or Wallachians, rather than 'Roumanian'[99] - and rather pointedly contrasting 'Wallack' life to that of their supposed ancestors.⁵⁸ Typically for a balkanist, Crosse blames their condition on solely congenital factors, above all what he sees as a distinct moral iniquity. For example, on one region he writes:

The peasants of the Hatszeg Valley are all Wallachs, and as lazy a set as can well be imagined; in fact, judging by their homes, they are in a lower condition than those of the Banat. So much is laziness the normal state with these people that I think they must regard hard work as a sort of recreation. Their wants are so limited that there is no inducement to work for gain. What have they to work for beyond the necessary quantity of maize, slivovitz, and tobacco? [...] If the Wallack could be raised out of the moral swamp of his present existence he might do something, but he must first feel the need of what civilisation has to offer him.⁵⁹

The passage is a typical evocation of the primitive state of the Balkans, particularly with its dichotomy between local standards and the merits and moral righteousness of 'civilisation'. Indeed, the trope of social and moral backwardness was an essential construct if a traveller like Crosse was to gauge either the virtues of 'civilisation' or his

⁵⁷ Crosse, *Carpathians*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ For example, on a village where the royal Roman town of Ulpia Trajana once existed, Crosse writes, 'Unless the traveller had brought historic facts with him to Gradischte, he would hardly be induced to search for tessellated pavements and relics of royalty amongst the piggeries of this dirty Wallach village' (Ibid., p. 136).

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 141-2. Okey quotes a similar passage from an unnamed eighteenth-century German traveller: 'The Wallach is still a peculiar type of humanity, extraordinarily neglected by niggardly nature in the mountains which are his favourite habitat. One finds many of them who have hardly anything human about them except the human form and even that is distorted and disfigured by goiters and other defects. [...] They seldom figure in history and, when they do, the pen of the historian shrinks from recording their acts' (quoted in Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 31).

own basic 'civility', the main function of such construction. For instance, by contrasting himself to the illegality, sluggish indolence and helpless backwardness of the 'Wallack', Crosse finds in his own behaviour the 'Self-help' and 'straight good sense' of the 'practical English', in his love of manufactured goods the progressiveness of a 'typical Englishman', in his virtue that of 'a law-respecting Briton', and in his diligent journeying both the industriousness of a 'restless Englishman' and 'the Englishman's love of adventure'.⁶⁰ The reward of all this came from both sensing one's superiority over the host culture and, hopefully, getting that culture to admit it. The latter was widespread in British travel writing of the period: Crosse, for example, gets addressed as "Herr Lord";⁶¹ two relief workers in Bosnia, Adeline Irby and Priscilla Johnson, become known as "Kralitzas", or queens; Edith Durham assumed the prestige of 'Queen of the Mountains' in Albania, Lear "this English Milord"; Miller became "*Herr Baron*" in Serbia; and Roy Trevor and his party had the honour of being termed "your excellencies" in Montenegro.⁶² For such travellers, there was only one small drawback. The Balkan sojourn may have bred a fine sense of personal superiority, and helped them partake in the wider supremacy of the nation, but meant maintaining an aloofness that left them very reliant on their own company.⁶³

The sense of social distinction, and its links to the imperial self-confidence of the nation, becomes clearer in the second form of remuneration available to the British

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 67, 299, 236, 222, 42, 200, 231.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 254. Knowing that another British traveller, Charles Boner, had also been 'raised to the peerage', Crosse assumes 'it is a settled conviction of the people that we are all lords in Great Britain'[254]. Earlier in his journey, Crosse is addressed as "high and nobly born Excellency" [5].

⁶² Respective references are Arthur Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 6; Mary Edith Durham, *The Struggle for Scutari* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p. 107; Lear, *Landscape Painter*, p. 35; Miller, *Travels and Politics*, p. 179; Roy Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, p. 280. At the same time, travellers received veneration for simply being British (for example, see Moore, *Orient Express*, p. 183; Vivian, *Servia*, pp. 237-41, 268; or Walker, *Through Macedonia*, pp. 109-10, 188, 196, 226) and British consuls treated like kings. As Wadham Peacock, former Consul-General to North Albania, put it, 'In Turkey [sic] the Consular official of a Great Power, and of a little one if he could bluff sufficiently, was a sacred person' (Peacock, *Albania*, p. 12). See also Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, II, 90-2; and Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, p. 143.

⁶³ Berger and her travelling companions in Bucharest form a good example: the local gentry's imputed corruption, immorality and love of display shock this 'sober-minded Briton', and set off the latter's civility and integrity to the full, but English consensus that they are not fit company leaves the party isolated, 'bored to death' in 'the enervating atmosphere of [their] rooms' (Berger, *City of Pleasure*, pp. 76, 210, 67).

traveller, the achievement of personal authority. During their journeys and residences abroad, it seems that the British, by virtue of either their nationality, their modernity or their wealth, could gain a status and supremacy over local populations that far surpassed the social standing they had achieved in the homeland. In terms of the Victorian and Edwardian traveller, for example, a trip in a region like the Ottoman Empire rarely happened 'without a horde of servants and dragomans whose presence at least intimated a position of control and mastery.'⁶⁴ For more long term expatriates, Crosse's expectation and maintenance of superiority in his relation with the host culture could turn into a wide-ranging professional domination largely unmediated by the local colonial administration. It was a role the Briton would assume with aplomb: Baker's command of Ottoman troops, Graves's political influence in the southern Balkans, a consul friend of Walker's prestige amongst the Albanians, all testify to the comfortable assumption of authority by Britons in the Balkans.⁶⁵ Behind it lay not only the discourses of race and class, but also a style of schooling that for the British had constructed abroad as a route to power, prestige and - in Martin Kitchen's phrase - the pleasures of 'a quasi-aristocratic life-style unavailable to them in Britain.'⁶⁶

Henry Barkley's account of life in Bulgaria, described in *Between the Danube and Black Sea* (1876) and *Bulgaria Before the War* (1877), gives an idea of the kind of colonialist status that British expatriates could achieve in the Balkans. Barkley was employed by an English contractor on the building of two railways in eastern Bulgaria, slowly working his way up over twelve years from engineer, under the supervision of his elder brother, to finally manager. During this time, his understanding of the indigenous population derives largely from relations with those locals - Bulgarians, Turks, Tartars - he employs as labourers, a relation of power and subordination that also governs textual representation. On the one hand, although the Bulgarians can be 'cunning', 'untruthful'

⁶⁴ Andrew Hammond, 'An Inflexible Exile: Preserving the Self in South-East Europe', in Sharon Ouditt, ed., *Displaced Persons: Conditions of Exile in European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 154.

⁶⁵ Baker, *War in Bulgaria*, pp. 130-157; Graves, *Storm Centres*, pp. 200-1, 220, 265; Walker, *Through Macedonia*, pp. 104, 226. For other instances of the assumption of authority by Britons in the Balkans, see Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, pp. 176-84; Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 149; Upward, *East End*, pp. 145, 223-4; Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years*, p. 254; Emily Strangford, *Report on the Bulgarian Peasant Relief Fund [etc.]* (London: Hardwicke and Bogue, 1877), pp. 7-8; More, *Under the Balkans*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Kitchen, *The British Empire and Commonwealth: A Short History* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 19.

and dishonourable, they are also seen as ‘an industrious, plodding’ people with notably strong, healthy constitutions: a people suited, therefore, to ‘doing navvy work’ for Barkley.⁶⁷ On the other, the style of authority Barkley wields over the men is rigidly autocratic, involving not only their supervision and training, but also the employment of corporal punishment, using the workmen as common servants,⁶⁸ and even allowing his power to transform him into an object of reverence. The latter is exemplified in a street scene early in the second text: hearing the word “Tchellaby” (‘gentleman’) pronounced nearby, he finds ‘a great big red-haired Turk [...] kissing the end of my shooting jacket’; after the Englishman has ‘patted him on the arm [and] called him ‘my good child,’ he discovers the man is a known criminal seeking for Barkley to intercede on his behalf with an Ottoman legal system he feels has mistreated him.⁶⁹ Whether or not the scene actually occurred, Barkley is here the white man of imperial fantasy - renowned for his influence and justice, and revered within the native community. The following vignette similarly illustrates Barkley’s authority, while revealing exactly the kind of justice he and his brother administered. The scene is now the construction site where, dissatisfied with receiving their wages in monthly instalments, the workforce strikes for pay and crowds menacingly round the English camp. Undaunted, Barkley’s brother takes a ‘stout whip’ and steps up to face the mob. “Well, my lads, what do you think of yourselves?” he begins,

but here he was cut short by a torrent of abuse, and a dozen ferocious-looking Turks and Tartars made a rush at him. He stepped back, and then like lightning came the hunting-whip among their out-stretched hands, and at last on the head of the ring-leader [...]. There was a pause, and then, finding the attacked was becoming the aggressor, the entire mass fled helter-skelter to the town, shouting out that they were all killed, and leaving the [ring-leader] on the ground with a hole in his crown. [...] It was hours before they came [back], and they would not then have done so had they not been driven by the Zaptiehs. The last to receive his money was our friend with the cracked skull, who then said to us, ‘Gentlemen, I have behaved as a child. I have lost a fortnight’s work and a

⁶⁷ Barkley, *Bulgaria*, pp. xii, xiv, xi, xi.

⁶⁸ For examples, see Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, pp. 156, 156, 112, 219.

⁶⁹ Barkley, *Bulgaria*, p. 10.

quantity of blood. You are all-powerful, and I am convinced all-good. Have mercy on a fool and allow him to work for you again, and pay him according to his behaviour.'⁷⁰

The passage is a fine example of the travel genre's penchant for improbable dialogue.⁷¹ The highly affected speech of the Turkish ringleader ('all-powerful', 'all-good') and the masculinist bravado of the brother's opening line form a style of colloquy straight out of Rider Haggard, a literariness repeated by the melodrama of both description ('ferocious-looking') and action ('like lightning came the hunting whip'). At the same time, the native's acceptance, and thus vindication, of the English viewpoint in the final line is a dramatic resolution a little too neat to be wholly believable. But most important is the passage's construction of almost God-like western supremacy: behind the brothers' bravery and final victory is the colonialist fantasy of mastery against the odds, of achieving one's authority in the face of a violence, discord and disorder which, functioning in the same way as the trope of backwardness, perfectly set off the rationality and order assumed to inform, and endorse, that authority in the first place. In the colonies, such a dichotomy would have worked to legitimise British rule; in the Bulgaria of the 1870s it had another, albeit implicit, result. The work was published just as uprising and war were sweeping across the peninsula, and on the issue of what was to become of the Ottoman dominions, the Barkleys' need to physically control the local population, especially with the help of Zaptiehs, the Porte's mounted policemen, hardly indicated a region ripe for autonomy, let alone self-determination.⁷²

The resemblance between the behaviour of the British in the Balkans and their compatriots in the colonial service is continued in the third privilege of imagined colonialism, that of personal freedom. Those travelling and writing about south-east Europe may have been discursively controlled, but, as with those in lands being explored

⁷⁰ Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, pp. 104-5.

⁷¹ One should keep in mind the fact that representation is at times not so much an issue of cultural subjectivity but of individual mendacity: 'Travellers, poets and liars', as Richard Brathwaite writes, 'are three words of one significance' (quoted in Zweder von Martels, 'Introduction: The Eye and the Mind's Eye', in von Martels, ed., *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel writing* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. xiv. As Rennie puts it, '[t]ravellers, like authors, have always had a reputation for making things up' (Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, p. 4).

⁷² Barkley recognises that his work will be a source of information for a Victorian readership (see Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, p. v; Barkley, *Bulgaria*, p. v).

or conquered, it would be wrong to overtheorise the Briton's subjugation to cultural convention, or forget what I have termed the remunerative qualities of power. As Englishmen like Barkley, Baker and Lear illustrate, travellers and expatriates could do in the Balkans more or less what they wanted, unhampered by either the intricacies of local custom or the strictures of local law. The aura of liberty surrounding the British was so strong, in fact, that if one is to believe E.F. Knight it was even acknowledged by the indigenous population. Towards the end of his tour of Albania, Knight finds his guide outraged by the request of a custom's officer that he search through the Englishman's belongings. 'The good fellow,' Knight comments,

had one definite and fixed idea [...] on the subject of Englishmen. He considered that they were a worthy and eccentric race, who had no country of their own, but who, by divine right, were entitled to do exactly what they liked in any country, not being subject to any laws whatever. This idea, I have found, is shared with him by many of my travelling companions.⁷³

Again, one might question the veracity of such a paraphrased speech, constructing as it does both a typically unenlightened native (with his quaint stupidity of thinking the imperial British nationless) and the idealised character - of individuality, worthiness, spiritual sanctity and 'the traditional love of freedom'⁷⁴ - that comprised the British self-image. Yet the quote does capture something of the inequality between on the one hand the local community, bound by custom, community and imperial rule, and on the other the travelling British, apparently bound by nothing. It was without any sense of paradox that Britons in the Balkans, at their worst, bribed, lied, stole, scrapped, caroused,

⁷³ Knight, *Albania*, p. 276. Indigenous commentary on Britain or the British is rarely admitted into the text, but when it is one often seems to catch a glimpse of disparagement and condescension; see, for example, Elizabeth Craven, *A Journey though the Crimea to Constantinople*, rpt. ed. (1789; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 359; R.H.R., *Rambles*, pp. 228-9; Moore, *Balkan Trail*, pp. 24, 56; Robert Macfie ['Andreas'], *With Gypsies in Bulgaria* (Liverpool: Henry Young and Sons, 1916), p. 74; Best, *Excursions*, pp. 276-7; Lear, *Landscape Painter*, pp. 166-7; Upward, *East End*, p. 321; Brown, *Albania*, p. 95; Peacock, *Albania*, p. 132. Particularly significant are those moments at which the British, far from receiving the respect their dignity, power and learning might deserve, are actually treated like children: see Brown, *Albania*, pp. 192-3; Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, II, 259-60; R.H.R., *Rambles*, p. 244; and Cary, *Memoir*, p. 23.

⁷⁴ Wills, *Captive of the Bulgarian Brigands*, p. 6. See also Best, *Excursions in Albania*, p. 335.

poached, smuggled, trespassed, appropriated houses, forged passports, punched, boxed, beat, shot and killed;⁷⁵ none of which had the slightest legal repercussion either during their journey or after their return.

An interesting example of this freedom can be found in Robert Dunkin's *In the Land of the Bora* (1897), in which a seemingly straightforward hunting tour around the western Balkans begins to assume more sinister proportions. Dunkin has retired from the Indian service, and has come with his wife for a little shooting and camping in Dalmatia and Herzegovina, the plan being to first cover the coast and then strike off for the forests and mountains of the interior. For the style this "expedition"⁷⁶ will take, the fact that the Englishman is led to believe he has free range in the country is somewhat significant; visiting a Government office on arrival in Zadar, ostensibly to pick up his hunting licence, Dunkin finds the Austrian authorities also award him 'an "open order"', a letter to 'all the gendarmerie in Dalmatia' requesting they 'do all they could to facilitate our wishes'[17-8]. It soon transpires that this award of liberty is no idle promise, as is demonstrated during a scene in which the local peasantry (or 'Morlaks'), discovering the Britons camping in their field, begin gathering round to have a look. At this gross invasion of his privacy, Dunkin writes, a detachment of gendarmes

at once came round to our camp, and ordered the populace to keep away from the tent - an order which was promptly obeyed, much to our relief. This, however, was not all; for at night, when we were about to turn in, I heard voices, and, looking out, saw two peasants approaching. They proceeded to spread out rough rugs on the ploughed land and [...] informed me that they had come as a guard to us by order of the gendarmerie.

They refused to accept my suggestion that they should go home [...] so I bade them

⁷⁵ For bribery see Moore, *Balkan Trail*, p. 79; for mendacity, see Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 62-3; for theft, see Baker, *War in Bulgaria*, II, 251; for fighting, see Barkley, *Bulgaria*, p. 85; for carousal, see Moore, *Balkan Trail*, p. 98; for poaching, see Creagh, *Over the Borders*, II, 68; for smuggling, see Booth, *Trouble*, p. 5; for trespass, see Goldring, *Dream Cities*, pp. 244, 311; for appropriation of housing, see Fife-Cookson, *Armies of the Balkans*, p. 145; for forgery, see Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, pp. 306-12; for punching, see Wright, *Adventures*, p. 46; for boxing ears, see Evans, *Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, p. 205; for beating, see Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 132-3; for shooting, see Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years*, p. 127; for killing, see Smith, *Fighting the Turk*, pp. 120-132, and Upward, *East End*, pp. 156-7.

⁷⁶ Dunkin, *Land of the Bora*, p. 5.

good night. The night was fine, and after all a Morlak peasant's house is not much more comfortable than a ploughed field [...]. [33-4]

This dual process of privileging the traveller and policing the locals seems tailor-made to recall the entitlements Dunkin would have enjoyed in India, and certainly once entrenched within privilege his narrative begins imaginatively reconstructing a style of colonisation with which India must have familiarised him. Like a pioneer, each stage of his journey into the '*terra incognita*'[3] of Dalmatia involves securing land, arranging the camp into reasonable order, choosing a servant from amongst the 'superstitious natives'[30] and, to seal the fantasy of settlement and ownership, raising the Union Jack over the domestic quarters. Once domestic harmony had been secured, Dunkin would even take up his gun and, leaving his wife to attend to her duties, ramble off into the bush to sate his 'natural desire to kill something'[96], a fierce expression of aggressive proprietorship. Like Best before him, the daily routine of his journey, this 'Crusoe-like existence'[40] as he calls it, resembled a kind of invasion, and with his panoply of tent, flag, guns - the potent symbols of national authority - the old Indian hand seemed to be recapturing in a purely imagined fiefdom the real colonial experience of seizure, control, and absolute freedom.⁷⁷

The imagined colonialism of Dunkin's trip around the western Balkans did not only involve the fantasy of appropriating land. Amongst the concerns and motifs of the Robinsonade are attributes - of hardship, danger, comradeship, suspense - more closely associated with frontier narratives, tales in which the Britisher's capability for masculinist adventure was discovered, codified and tested somewhere beyond the outer rim of civilisation, and which, as Dunkin's slice of autobiography testifies, could quite successfully be adapted to the eastern European context.⁷⁸ This achievement of

⁷⁷ As a measure of how astounding his behaviour is, one thinks of the opposite scenario: a Croatian, on a tour of Britain, sticks a flag in a Kentish field, bans the locals from the environs and stalks about with a gun, all with the compliance of the local constabulary. Considering Dunkin's desire for mastery, his chosen pen-name, 'Snaffle', colloquially meaning 'to steal; seize; appropriate' (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 9th ed.) is pertinent.

⁷⁸ Indeed, Frederick Moore likens the Balkans to 'the Wild West', or 'the American border in the old days' (in Moore *Balkan Trail*, p. 219). Another American, Arthur Howden Smith, also alludes to 'the old-time West' (Smith, *Fighting the Turk*, p. vi), as does the novelist John Finnemore in his *Foray and Fight: Being the Story of the Remarkable Adventures of an Englishman and an American in Macedonia*

masculinist adventure is what I consider the fourth reward, or privilege, of the British traveller in south-east Europe, though reward may seem an odd term for a pursuit so hemmed about by behavioural etiquette and social expectation. As critics like Martin Green and Richard Phillips have argued, the nineteenth century's burgeoning literature of adventure was both product and producer of the ideological construction of imperial masculinity, inciting in often juvenile readerships identification with the qualities necessary for maintaining empire, and the more adventurous of the Victorian travel narrative, particularly those by a younger generation, worked to the very same end.⁷⁹ When the young Kinglake, for example, riding through Serbia in the 1830s, exalts travel's 'moulding of your character [...], your very identity',⁸⁰ his theme is less the development of individuality than a settling into those pre-arranged patterns of fortitude, resilience, phlegmatism and authority deemed appropriate for an English ruling class. Similarly, a *Bildungsroman* like Wright's *Adventures in Servia* (1884), in which the author grows from youthful naiveté into 'a considerably wiser man', or like Barkley's first instalment of autobiography, during which '[f]rom boys' the two brothers 'had grown into men,'⁸¹ sees the adventurous Briton slip into the masculinist, imperialist conventions of Victorian Englishness, and achieve his due reward.

(London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1906), p. 138. See also Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 366.

⁷⁹ See Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1979), Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire* (1997). Graham Dawson, in another useful volume, captures the remunerative value of the adventure well when he writes: 'The soldier heroes composed in adventure narratives [...] offer the psychic reassurance of triumph over the sources of threat, promising the defeat of enemies and the recovery of that which is valued and feared lost. Having accomplished their quest, they win recognition and bask in the affirmation of their public, for whom they become idealised vessels preserving all that is valued and worthwhile. Identification with these heroes meets the wish to fix one's own place within the social world, to feel oneself to be coherent and powerful rather than fragmented and contradictory. It offers [...] the security of belonging to a gendered national collectivity that imagines itself to be superior in strength and virtue to all others' (Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 282. On the construction of imperial masculinity, see also Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, 'Preface' to Colls and Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London, New York and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 5-7.

⁸⁰ Kinglake, *Eothen*, p. 37. He also refers to his status 'as one of the industrious class', for whom travel is a means of 'strengthening his will, and tempering the metal of his nature, for [a] life of toil and conflict' [xviii].

⁸¹ Wright, *Adventures*, p. 248; Barkley, *Danube and Black Sea*, p. 302. I am reminded here of Fussell's sense that 'the memoir is a kind of fiction, differing from the "first novel" (conventionally an account of

To understand how these rewards of masculine adventure worked, I would like to return to Brown's *A Winter in Albania*, where the testing of the masculine self against the challenges of a 'savage' terrain - rather than the Balkan adventurers' more favoured challenge of war⁸² - makes it an interesting exemplar of this 'near eastern' frontier narrative. As I hope to have indicated, there was always an element of bluster surrounding Brown's portrait of Albanian savagery: just as the construction of backwardness is essential for setting off one's civility, and the construction of chaos for one's orderliness, so savagery is necessary for portraying the full measure of one's courage and adventurousness - the fact being that the more savage the country, the more admirable one is in journeying through it. Brown's desire for something of the kind is seen after he exchanges 'idling in Scutari'⁸³ for a vigorous trek in the highlands. Once this other landscape has been entered, as the author emerges amongst 'dark valleys'[173] and 'fantastic crags'[201], where 'wind howled like a wild beast'[165] and the 'drifting clouds' appear 'like gigantic monsters dancing around some unholy cauldron'[170], both author and reader become separated from the world of factual record, and enter what Phillips terms the 'generic landscape' of adventure, outlandish geographies that in their strange, almost allegorical abstraction become 'open to the adventurous imagination'.⁸⁴ In this way, rather than distinct topographical detail, Brown's narrative finds him not only toiling through the general markers of any mountain adventure - of perilous terrain, deep snow, intense cold, indigenous villains and other formidable challenges - but also, in the best adventure tradition, going on to overcome all these obstacles: that is, to endure

crucial youthful experience told in the first person) only by continuous implicit attestations of veracity or appeals to documented historical fact' (Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 310).

⁸² See particularly works from the early twentieth century such as Moore's *The Balkan Trail*, Booth's *Trouble in the Balkans*, Reginald Wyon's *The Balkans Within*, Arthur Howden Smith's *Fighting the Turk in the Balkans* and Robert Macfie's *With Gypsies in Bulgaria*. For expression of the traveller's desire for adventure in the Balkans, see particularly Wright, *Adventures*, p. 99; Best, *Excursions*, pp. 195-6; Moore, *Balkan Trail*, p. 10; Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 2, 79, 105-6, 119. In times of peace, the traveller was known to express boredom (Peacock, *Albania*, pp. 144-5, 153; Le Queux, *Observer*, p. 238) and disappointment (Goldring, *Dream Cities*, pp. 277-81) with the Balkan peninsula. Joyce Cary, unusually for travel writers in the region, plays down the adventurous element of his volunteer work during the First Balkan War (Cary, *Memoir*, pp. 51, 128, 164).

⁸³ Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 145.

⁸⁴ Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 58.

the conditions, defeat the natives,⁸⁵ conquer the terrain and make that last desperate physical and mental effort to ensure the greatest challenge of all, here a mountain peak called 'Chaffa Malet', is properly 'vanquished'[189]. At the end of the trek, with his servants trailing exhaustedly behind him, a hugely satisfied Brown rides down into the comparative peace of Shkodër:

The sun was setting as we passed the low hills of pleasant Bushati, once the splendid seat of the rulers of Scutari, and long shadows were falling across the flat. Far before us the tall citadel of Scutari caught the glory of the dying day, and shone like a mighty beacon, and further still the great Murinai reared his white head into the red glow, while all his vast body was wrapped in deepening shade.[295]

Coming on the final page of the text, the experience here, of course, is of death. Both the 'dying' light and the 'body [...] wrapped in deepening shade' return one to the journey's wider metaphorical function, what Michel Butor called 'that traditional, and inexhaustible, metaphor [for] the individual life'.⁸⁶ Yet it is also that moment, vital to all masculinist adventures, when the central protagonist shows up for his reward. Like the later frontiersmen of the cinematic Western, who would also find themselves riding off into sunsets, Brown has endured a realm of danger, exhaustion and estrangement in order to triumphantly realise his potential self-assertion and fortitude, and is being rewarded with a new-found sense of power, symbolised in the passage by the majesty of the terrain he has entered ('splendid', 'glory', 'mighty', a 'seat of [...] rulers'), and his position of visual dominance over that terrain. And in this growth of character through adventure, the frontier narrative also resembled myth, with a text like Brown's assuming not only the stylistic devices of suspense and narrative progression, but also the thematic

⁸⁵ As Duncan points out in the context of African travelogues, the 'natives' are often strategically 'placed in the text as a foil to the white man', a set of challenges to outfox and outlast (see Duncan, 'Sites of Representation: Place, Time and the Discourse of the Other', in Duncan and Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation*, p. 50).

⁸⁶ Michel Butor, 'Travel and Writing', in Michael Kowalewski, ed., *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens, Georgia and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), p. 56.

attributes of righteous action and mastery, a combination that would transform the text's narrator, as Kabbani put it, into 'journey's hero'.⁸⁷

This mythological edge that travellers would bring to their scripting of Balkan adventure was more involved than mere displays of bravado. A central feature of the classical myth that also re-emerged in nineteenth-century travel writing was the ability of the 'hero-explorer'⁸⁸ to successfully negotiate the mysteries, as well as the dangers, of the alien environment, moving in their journeys from ignorance through revelation to knowledge. Solving mystery may have been a more cognitive pursuit than physical adventure, but in its determination to reveal, elucidate and classify was no less masculine. Working from Foucault's notion of the 'scientific gaze', Mary Louise Pratt has brilliantly located travel literature within the larger western drive for global knowledge from the eighteenth century onwards, with travellers drawing for their interpretative strategies upon pre-existing classificatory orders that were systematically 'assert[ing] an urban, lettered, male authority over the whole of the planet.'⁸⁹ Of course, the belief of the western viewer that complex cultural formations could be reduced to an object, and textually reconstituted as ordered knowledge, during even the shortest jaunt around the region indicates their considerable egotism.⁹⁰ More exactly, this is another kind of fantasy of mastery, one in which the will to knowledge soon reveals itself as the will to

⁸⁷ Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, p. 7. Kabbani goes on to view the mythological flavour of the travel narration as part of a wider generic shift in British travel writing, claiming it marked a change from the descriptive qualities of eighteenth-century travel: 'The *moi haissable* of classical sensibility was appropriately revamped to accommodate a Victorian glorification of individuals'[7]. The structure of Brown's journey follows the three stages of a romance: 'a journey, a crucial struggle [...], and an exaltation of the hero' (Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p. 82). As Green adds, '[e]mpire, frontier, exploration' have all emerged from such journeys [83]. Glazebrook is right to compare the markers of Victorian adventure to those of the medieval romance - see Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1984), pp 8, 47, 56-7, 100, 126-8.

⁸⁸ Brydon and Tiffin's phrase for the masculinist founding-father of white Australian society who, while "opening up" vast acres to settlement [...] endured privations of all kinds, but [whose] iron will, self-sacrifice and determination to succeed won through' (Diana Brydon and Helen Tiffin, 'West Indian Literature and the Australian Comparison', in Moore-Gilbert, et al, eds., *Postcolonial Criticism*, p. 203).

⁸⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 38.

⁹⁰ It is unusual for travel writers to admit the spurious empiricism upon which their observations are based; De Windt, for example, does refer to his text as merely the 'fugitive impressions of travel' (de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 134). On the shortcomings of travel as a source of knowledge, see St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence*, p. 159; Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, pp. 48-9, 128-30; Macfie, *With Gypsies*, p. iii.

power, and from which the traveller could achieve another kind of reward. As with Brown's exertions, and its physical triumph over both landscape and populace, the elucidating of mystery was also an imaginative conquest and appropriation of the culture through which one moved, 'a way of taking possession without subjugation and violence' that Pratt terms 'anti-conquest',⁹¹ and that is part of what I term imagined colonialism.

It is here that the significance of obfuscation to the discourse of balkanism becomes evident. Closely resembling the performative functions of discord, savagery and backwardness, the charge of obfuscation was essential if the rational side of the autobiographical persona, and its cognitive mastery over the travelled environment, were to find any expression at all. The simple trick was to locate in the Balkans some intrigues and mysteries, and then proceed to clear them up. A fine example appears in William Le Queux's journal of travels through the Balkans, *An Observer in the Near East* (1907), whose very title indicates the author's desired identity as one of detached authority. Significantly, his preface is almost wholly concerned with introducing the region's beguiling obscurantism and the enormous difficulties of elucidation: claiming to proceed by 'close, confidential inquiry',⁹² the author's stated aim is a full explication of the Near East and a frank unravelling of 'its mysteries, its constant plots, and its tangled politics,' an activity rendered problematic because 'Balkan questions are both difficult and intricate', and because 'in the East one is hardly ever told the real facts about anything.'⁹³ Nevertheless, the text finds Le Queux methodically arriving at what he terms 'many plain truths'[5], mainly focusing on political and military intentions on the eve of the First Balkan War, but also including the solutions to certain cultural puzzles. One telling vignette involves that major enigma confronting the traveller, the veiled woman. Le Queux is in Shkodër, intrigued by the 'ghostly and mysterious' women 'shuffling'[52]

⁹¹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 57, 39.

⁹² Le Queux, *Observer*, p. 5.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 6, 137, 271. Such sentiments are common: see Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, pp. 280, 282; Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 88; Upward, *East End*, pp. 113-4, 147, 178, 198, 226, 252, 281, 300. In his trips to individual regions, Le Queux also finds Albania a 'Land of Mystery'[41], Bulgaria 'the "dark horse" of the Peninsula'[206], Turkey shrouded in a 'veil of mystery'[271] and Serbia 'a perfect vortex of mystery and intrigue'[136]. For Pearson, McLaughlin, Ozanne and Lear, the truth about the region is only to be found in British works (see Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Servia*, p. 62; Ozanne, *Three Years*, p. 95; Lear, *Landscape Painter*, pp. 11-12).

through the streets, and with persistence manages to arrange with an Albanian male to view, and photograph, his wife and sister-in-law without their veils. As if confident of the reader's shared fascination, the author spends half a page setting the scene, describing - with barely suppressed excitement - the intricacies of household decor and seating arrangements before the moment of unveiling arrives. 'The younger woman was indeed lovely,' he finally gushes on the sister-in-law, having

a fair white skin, beautiful soft lines of beauty, magnificent black eyes, and lips that puckered into a sweet, modest smile when I involuntarily expressed my surprise at her marvellous good looks. I had heard that Albanian ladies were beautiful, but I certainly never expected to be presented to such a type of feminine loveliness.

Over her bare chest hung strings of great gold coins, while across her brow were rows of sequins. Her richly embroidered dress, the jewels in her ears, the bangles upon her arms, all enhanced her great personal beauty, while she stood before me, her face downcast in modesty - for except her husband and his brother no man had ever beheld her unveiled. [60]

There are two kinds of mastery being achieved in the passage. Most obviously, Le Queux wields power over the woman: with her passivity and 'downcast' eyes set against Le Queux's active gaze, and her 'modesty' contrasted to Le Queux's worldly expertise (which can gauge and classify 'type[s] of feminine loveliness'), the scene becomes predicated on the inequality of viewer and viewed, a situation underlined by the woman's waiting on the author once the spectacle is over.⁹⁴ But at the same time, there is a definite power being achieved, or at least attempted, over the reader. Behind his gradual setting of the scene, and the building up of fine detail during the description, lies Le

⁹⁴ Le Queux, *Observer*, p. 61. This is what Pratt terms 'the relation of *mastery* [...] between the seer and the seen' (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 204). While clearly enjoying such scenes of female imprisonment, markers like the veil and harem also led male travellers to bewail the eastern oppression of women that so clearly contrasted (so they claimed) with the West's progressive, liberal and respectful attitudes. As Kostova points out on an earlier period: 'The myth of Western women's freedom appears to have been among the Enlightenment's favourite ideological clichés' (Ludmilla Kostova, *Tales of the Periphery: The Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Writing* (Veliko Turnovo: St. Cyril and St. Methodius University Press, 1997), p. 27. Grewal argues that travellers' representations of the 'oppression and incarceration of [...] "Eastern" women [...] disguised the oppression of Englishwomen and gave English readers a false sense of their own unoppressed state' (Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 1996), p. 50.

Queux's presumption that this is the reader's first chance to view the secrets of Muslim womanhood, and consequently the establishment of himself as a guide and authority to which the reader should submit.⁹⁵ This latter form of power continues during his wider conquest of the Balkans, in which political manoeuvring, military secrets and cultural enigmas all submit and yield themselves up as Le Queux's penetrating gaze gradually takes imaginative possession of the peninsula.⁹⁶ With the same triumphalism he displayed at the unveiling, our conquering author goes so far as to claim greater knowledge on the region than indigenes have, announcing to the reader that, having 'travelled all through the Balkans in order to learn the real truth', he has emerged with facts not only published in Britain 'for the first time', but which will 'come as a revelation [...] even to Balkan diplomats themselves'.⁹⁷ It is this sense of mastery over indigene and reader that is the reward of one's factual attainment.

To push for Le Queux's unveiling of the Albanian woman as symbol of British travellers' wider unveiling of the Balkans would be misleading. The passage's interest in the feminine, its domestic location and erotic charge, were all unusual in a set of travelogues far more concerned with the masculine spheres of war, politics and exploration.⁹⁸ But the passage was typical in viewing the Balkans as a spectacle that the western gaze could master, and typical too in its unwavering confidence in language to

⁹⁵ Le Queux's achievement of power could also be said to extend over the husband, for he includes one of his photographs in the text (*Ibid.*, facing p. 54), despite the fact that, at the husband's demand, he had given his 'undertaking not to make any copies for sale' [59].

⁹⁶ 'The gaze is never innocent or pure,' Spurr writes; 'The writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire' (Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 27). For other instances of imaginative possession, see Lion Phillimore, *In the Carpathians* (London: Constable, 1912), p. 33; Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, I, 150; Mrs Russell Barrington, *Through Greece and Dalmatia [etc.]* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p. 229; Hutchinson, *Motoring*, p. 155.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 137, 5. This [factual] superiority over the local population is repeated by Booth, whose treks through the Macedonian countryside in a period of unrest have, he feels, brought him a greater understanding of the situation than the urban Macedonians have: 'In the span of those moving days', he writes, 'the heart of Macedonia was revealed to me, and I knew those things which were hidden from the dweller in cities, furnished with "reliable statistics"' (Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 255-6). See also Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 35. Mills views such assertion as 'a common strategy in colonial discourse' (Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, p. 147).

⁹⁸ Even the epithet 'virginal' was rarely applied to the Balkans by those exploring or traversing the region: for rare instances, see Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, p. 111; and Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, p. 184. On the common usage of the epithet in travel writing, see Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1993), p. 92.

faithfully record that spectacle. The simplicity of diction, the declarative tone, the belief that character could be recording the external minutiae of dress and expression, all indicate an assurance both with empirical experience and with one's ability to faithfully transmit experience via language into the mind of the reader.⁹⁹ In so doing, Le Queux epitomises not just British travel writing, but nineteenth-century literary practice as a whole: linguistical certainty, 'plain statement'¹⁰⁰ and the objectifying gaze were all repeated in the spheres of history, reportage and social commentary as well as in that of the novel, a literary form to which travel writing, with its scenes, characters, dialogues, chronological structures and seemingly omniscient narrators, was intimately linked. In the fiction of both Britain and the Continent, the realist school had given way in the second half of the nineteenth century to naturalism, for which the novelist was less a creative imagination than 'a fully-fledged scientist', sharing with the natural sciences a belief in both objective observation and their ability, as Foucault put it, to 'bring language as close as possible to the observing gaze, and the things observed as close as possible to words.'¹⁰¹ What the naturalists used their style of plain and simple statement to focus on - history, society, cultural *milieux* - reflected a thematic pattern also being produced in travel writing. For example, when Arthur Evans, covering the uprisings in Herzegovina, affirms that 'you can rely on the accuracy of my report', when Pearson and McLaughlin state that their accounts of Serbian cultural backwardness 'may claim one merit - that of truth', or when Allen Upward prefaces his exposure of Bulgarian

⁹⁹ As Jelavich points out, such confidence was most likely shared by the reader: 'what they described', she says of Victorian travel writers, 'was what was generally accepted as true' (Jelavich, 'British Traveller', p. 412). Cocker writes that '[t]he classic Victorian travel book was a brisk, uncomplicated stream of empirical data fixed in a semi-autobiographical matrix. Primarily it described, explained, mapped and illuminated an unknown terrain', aiming 'to pin the universe down and render it intelligible' (Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, pp. 6, 29).

¹⁰⁰ Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. v.

¹⁰¹ Respective references are: Goncourts, quoted in Damian Grant, *Realism*, (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 38; Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), p. 132. Earlier, Foucault had talked about that 'great myth of a pure Gaze that would be pure language' (in Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1973), p. 108). Cecil Jenkins considers realism 'the distinctive mode of the novel as a form, [which] remains its dominant stylization up to the present time' (Jenkins, 'Realism and the Novel Form', in D.A. Williams, ed., *The Monster in the Mirror: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Realism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 5. Easthope calls it the 'plain style, one in which, apparently, things have been turned into words so that words can deliver the equivalent of things and meaning pass from head to head' (Easthope, *Englishness*, p. 93).

atrocities in Macedonia by declaring that all assertions are based on 'the English law of evidence',¹⁰² despite their odd bit of frippery and romance, we are very close to that primary aim, or assumption, of nineteenth-century literary practice, 'the objective representation of contemporary social reality.'¹⁰³

As Le Queux illustrated, what realist technique produced in the context of Victorian travel writing was a bounding, a conquest, a kind of appropriation of the foreign object in language. Far from being the disinterested medium it seemed, realism was a central, profoundly mediated property of balkanism which, by reducing the region to 'a series of detailed items presented in a normative European prose style',¹⁰⁴ worked hand in hand with balkanist topoi, imagery and terminology to translate, and domesticate, the Balkan peninsula's complexity into a clear, controllable body of knowledge. And in doing so, the style reveals itself as part and parcel of that wider drive to ascendancy in British society and politics. As Jameson cogently argues in *The Political Unconscious* (1981), style is never simply a *medium* for expressing some transcendental thought or belief, but forms an *expression in itself* of belief and the cultural and historical context

¹⁰² These are just three amongst numerous examples: Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 72; Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, p. 359; Upward, *East End*, p. xv. The Briton's confidence in capturing through travel and writing the essence of the Balkans is seen in More's claim that 'If anyone, starting from the interior of Turkey, will go for 100 miles in any direction, stay in one spot for some time, and return by a different route, I think, with average intelligence, he may bring back a tolerably correct sketch of the normal state of the country.' (Robert Jasper More, *Under the Balkans: Notes of a Visit to the District of Philippopolis in 1876* (London: Henry S. King, 1877), p. viii. See also the classic statement of objectivity in Kinglake, *Eothen*, pp. xvi-xvii.

¹⁰³ Rene Wellek's famous definition of realism, in Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 240. Another commentator claimed realism was a 'literary doctrine' that attempted 'the imitation not of artistic masterpieces but of the originals that nature offers us' (French journalist, quoted in F.W.J. Hemmings, 'Realism and the Novel: The Eighteenth-Century Beginnings', in Hemmings, ed., *The Age of Realism* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978), p. 9. Rennie argues, in the context of seventeenth and eighteenth century travel writing, that 'a plain and simple style' was necessary 'for a far-voyaging author to keep his distance, not only from 'invention', but from even the 'appearance of invention' (Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, p. 81; see also Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, p. 113). It is perhaps expressive of the confidence of the nineteenth century that travellers could include in their journals overtly fictional elements - as well as such romanticism as Brown's depiction of his trek through northern Albania - and still feel credibility had been maintained (see Kinglake, *Eothen*, pp. 28-31; Herbert, *By-Paths*, pp. 175-251; Abbott, *Tale of a Tour*, p. 159; Moore, *Orient Express*, pp. 102-3, 110-11; and Wright, *Adventures*, pp. v-vi).

¹⁰⁴ Said on the style of the orientalists, a style that he argues safeguarded the 'European traveler or resident in the Orient [...] from its unsettling influences' (Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 166-7).

within which that belief has been evolved. Realism presents a fine example of Jameson's point. On one level, the mimetic certainties, the plain, declarative statement, the pathos and irony of the scientific style in travel writing were less expressive of the travelled environment than the Englishness of the traveller - that is, of the empiricism, common sense, self-assurance and cheerfulness that defined British identity not only during the journey, but also during the later writing up of the journey (a point signalling that one's identity had been fully maintained in the face of the other). On a different level, realism also expressed the more general ideologies of the age, of both the Enlightenment ideals of clarity, rationality and structure, and the political confidence of Empire during its extraordinary period of discovering, exploring, conquering and, as with the Balkans, translating the world into English.

Besides realism itself, the best example of what I mean by this process of translation in the Balkan context is the way autobiographical writing tackled the toponymic intricacies of the region, a feature which, if left alone, could well have shattered the smooth surfaces of balkanist representation. As Lear's phrase best expresses it, Balkan topography presented to British travellers, writers and readers 'a puzzle of the highest order', composed as it was of 'ancient nomenclature', Ottoman nomenclature, and also, 'wheel within wheel', the confused, alienating linguistic panoply of 'native tribes and districts'.¹⁰⁵ As a result, travel writers adopted a number of strategies which, through rewriting the Balkans toponymically, could also appropriate the region intellectually. Firstly, the autochthonous names of peoples and geographical features - of towns, villages, rivers, hills - were commonly withdrawn from the native languages (the pronunciation of Cyrillic, and other native alphabets, with their range of diacritical marks, deemed too difficult or too alien for an English audience to master¹⁰⁶) and reordered in a phonetic transliteration, thereby achieving through the deployment of language an alleviation, or subjugation, of local topography.¹⁰⁷ Secondly, this linguistic taking in hand of people and place was furthered by the way their chosen topographical

¹⁰⁵ Lear, *Landscape Painter*, p. 11. For further complaints about Balkan nomenclature, see Tozer, *Researches*, I, 232-3; Crosse, *Carpathians*, p. 184; Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels*, II, 164.

¹⁰⁶ For example, see Stillman, *Herzegovina*, p. iii; de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Linked to this, is the British travel writer's tendency to alter (either by simplifying or by anglicising) the names of local people; for example, Pearson and McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia*, p. 152; Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 35, 68, 96. See also, Upward, *East End*, p. 154.

appellations were often not the autochthonous ones in the first place. As already seen for towns like 'Cattaro', 'Scutari' and 'Tashkessen', the travel writer much preferred the imperial designations of Greece, Venice, Austria and the Ottoman Empire to any local variant, as if here in the Balkan peninsula it was the Empire that had the true authority to name. Once such imperial geography had gained currency, the right of self-designation was effectively wrestled from the indigenous population. In fact, with Turkish in the south-east (Monastir, Uskub, Rustchuk), Italian down the Adriatic coast (Spalato, Fiume, Durazzo), and the German or Hungarian in the north (Kronstadt, Temesvar, Hermannstadt), the Balkans were scripted in the English language and imagination as a distinct swathe of imperial property.¹⁰⁸ The point becomes more poignant when considering, thirdly, the wider regional designations that British writers had deployed in their work. After 1850, moving into an age of accelerated imperialism, the Greek 'Haemus' became superseded by a nomenclature - the Near East, southern Austria, European Turkey, Turkey in Europe¹⁰⁹ - that firmly placed the designated regions under imperial control; so much so, indeed, that even when such terms could no longer apply, and the 'Balkans' used to collectively express the new, independent nation-states, it was still a term expressive of its Ottoman legacy that had been chosen. In this way, the apparently disinterested search for knowledge of a Le Queux also facilitated in its very linguistic format a process of imagined colonialism through which the Balkans were both subordinated to English requirements of knowledge and placed within very real systems of foreign power.

The assumptions and effects of the objectifying gaze within such wider systems of power draw us on to the final reward of the British traveller and resident in the Balkans, what one could term a partaking in national achievement. It was not uncommon during the 'long nineteenth century' for travel writers to seek in their journeys and texts methods of furthering British interests, whether these be financial, commercial or strategic, and through doing so creating for oneself and one's readership a righteous

¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, as part of their invective against the Albanians, Mackenzie and Irby, throughout *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces*, call them by the Ottoman designation, 'Arnaout'. At times, the decision to use the imperial designation was more bizarre: see Tozer, *Researches*, I, 286; Strangford, *Eastern Shores*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Todorova also mentions the usage of such terms as the 'Hellenic peninsula', the 'Greek peninsula', the 'Roman peninsula' and the 'Byzantine peninsula' (Todorova, 'Balkans', p. 463). See also Mazower, *Balkans*, pp. 1-4.

impression of fealty to the national cause. This process of acting as emissary of one's country, or doing one's bit for the national good, was, after all, a major function of travel in the days before tourism, and a major function of the burgeoning network of consulates being established around the world. Investment openings, business concessions, export opportunities, favourable diplomatic relations and military surveillance¹¹⁰ were all major concerns for consuls, as well as travellers, in the Balkans, and major themes in their autobiographical writings. This issue of national fealty could certainly be exemplified by the direct, often dramatic engagement in the region of long-term residents like Graves, Fife-Cookson, Baker and Durham. A more interesting example, however, is a particular group of texts which, in their advocacy of new economic approaches to the region - specifically the opening up of the peninsula for emigration and trade - needed to break with the dominant representational paradigm in order to properly advertise those approaches to the reader; a set of approaches, it should be added, that formed a central feature of the balkanist's imagined colonialism.

Emigration, firstly, had been intrinsic to the colonial project since the early decades of the nineteenth century. Concerned with increasing poverty and unemployment, thinkers like Thomas Malthus, H. Wilmot Horton and Edward Gibbon Wakefield advocated a government-funded project of emigration to the colonies in order both to stave off social unrest in the homeland and - they argued - to benefit the colonies from the civilisation and progress the emigrants would bring.¹¹¹ Naturally, such settlement was grounded not just on the infallible right of westerners to appropriate land, but also on the claim that the indigenous people were proving neither progressive enough, nor numerous enough, to use the land effectively themselves, claims that were substantiated by representing the fertility of the colony alongside underpopulation, administrative disorder, and a wastefully primitive husbandry. Although the Balkans never became the

¹¹⁰ Forms of secret service activity were quite common in the Balkans during both the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries - that is, if the Englishman's penchant for borders is of any significance. For example, see the routes taken by Crosse in *Round About the Carpathians* and Wyon and Prance in *The Land of the Black Mountain*, as well as Macfie's rather strange behaviour in *With Gypsies in Bulgaria*.

¹¹¹ Grewal notes that it was believed 'colonization [...] would improve the lot of the poor at home, both by emigration as well as the increase in commerce and industry from colonial markets abroad' (Grewal, *Home and Harem*, p. 43). For a more detailed outline of the issue, see M.E. Chamberlain, 'Imperialism and Social Reform', in Eldridge, ed., *British Imperialism*, pp. 148-153. See also Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, pp. 24-5.

destination for Britain that they did for Austria, their status as subordinate culture led several writers to present their value for British emigrants by producing similar patterns of representation. R.H.R.'s *Rambles in Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro* (1875), interestingly in the same locality as Dunkin imagined settlement, illustrates my point. On the one hand, there is much about the text's regional portraiture that accords to balkanist paradigms, particularly an imputed backwardness that the author views, significantly, as being as much due to Austrian and Ottoman rule as the shortcomings of indigenous culture.¹¹² On the other, and more importantly here, he deploys a strain of complimentary representation, finding in eastern and south-eastern Europe 'countless acres' of 'unoccupied and uncultivated' land that he considers some 'of the richest land in creation'[36], and going so far as to argue that the region is vastly preferable to more typical destinations for the British emigrant. With reference to one failed emigration project for New Zealand, for instance, the author writes that

the distance was too great, the mere cost of going out was a most serious drawback, at the very least *ten times* the amount required to land one bag and baggage in the centre of Hungary, or better still in Servia, among some of the most beautiful scenery in the world, the richest soil, the best climate, and the finest fishing and shooting that could be desired, where game laws and river preserves and licences are still utterly unknown.[38]

The Balkans we find in such description is 'unpossessed, unhistoricized',¹¹³ an Eden whose wealth is untainted by bureaucratic restriction, indigenous ownership or even indigenous presence. In the light of its prospective 'advantages', such country offers a fine outlet for Britain's 'excessive population', particularly the poorer section of the middle classes, amongst whom 'the misery, the poverty, the utter wretchedness' of life will inevitably lead to 'a volcanic eruption' in British society.¹¹⁴ Moreover, in their new social and political environment, one gets the distinct impression that it is the British emigrant, not the indigene, that will rule the roost: in R.H.R.'s imagined order, south-east

¹¹² For example, see R.H.R., *Rambles*, pp. 40-1, 173-5.

¹¹³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 51. On the subject of travel writing, Pratt later comments, 'unexploited nature tends to be seen in this literature as troubling or ugly, its very primalness a sign of the failure of human enterprise. Neglect became the touchstone of a negative esthetic that legitimated European interventionism' (Ibid., p. 149).

¹¹⁴ See R.H.R., *Rambles in Istria*, pp. 37-9.

Europe would be centred around not the 'misrule of barbarous Asiatic hordes, or the 'brilliant glitter' of a native ruling class like Romania's, but the familiar and self-serving 'advantages of British institutions.'¹¹⁵ The idea is repeated, with significant extension, by St. Clair and Brophy, according to whom British emigration to Bulgaria would necessarily entail the subjugation of the 'Rayahs', or Christian inhabitants. 'If foreigners are permitted to buy land,' they contend, 'it is certain that in a short time their intelligent labour [...] will enable them to extend their properties, and little by little to become owners of the greater part of the soil of Turkey by legal dispossession of the Rayahs.'¹¹⁶

Emigration was undoubtedly a primary feature of British imperialism, but not the most important. If there was any guiding principle behind British expansion during the nineteenth century, then it was - over and above the goals of military strategy and political standing - the ever-greater accumulation of wealth, with the discovery of new destinations for British export and investment, and new sources of produce, products and raw materials, being the driving force that kept Britain ahead in Europe, and ascendant across huge swathes of the colonised world. And for these necessary discoveries, that penetrating gaze of the British travel writer had proved enormously useful. In their travel writing on the Balkans, for example, there were very few Britons who at one point or other failed to turn their attention to business and investment possibilities, and to begin filtering the travelled environment through the desires and considerations of financial gain. For this, William Le Queux is a perfect example (as his portrait of the veiled

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 42. This is despite the author's oblique suggestion that south-east Europe, which he foresees uniting in one nation, should be governed by an indigenous ruler, quite probably Prince Danilo, or Prince Nicholas, of Montenegro (see pp. 175-6, 222-234). When considering R.H.R.'s stance on the emigration issue, it is perhaps little wonder that he expresses so much admiration for such an arch imperialist as Richard Burton, then stationed in Trieste (see pp. 47-50; also Knight, *Albania*, p. 8).

¹¹⁶ St Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 200. For their discussion of emigration to Bulgaria, its difficulties and potential effects on the country, see pp. 192, 195-6, 200-204. See also de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, pp. 188-9, 206-7, 260-1; Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, p. 243; Vivian, *Servia*, p. 147. Vivian's description of Serbia as a country where 'there are few violent landscapes', where '[t]he hills are warmly wooded, [...] the valleys pant and nod with fatness, and [...] the farmsteads appear to indulge in a perpetual *siesta*', works to support his encouragement of British migration (Vivian, *Servia*, p. 272). Minchin considers British settlement of Bulgaria, but rejects the idea (Minchin, *Growth of Freedom*, p. 348). As Robert Shannon Peckham argues in the Greek context, this desire for colonial expansionism in a European territory (whether of the British or Ottoman Empire), seriously unsettles the binarism upon which much post-colonial analysis is based (see Peckham, 'Exoticism of the Familiar', in Duncan and Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage*, pp. 171-2).

woman - with its fascinated appraisal of her gold coins, sequins, jewels and bangles - might have suggested). 'One of the objects of my observations', as he writes on Bulgaria, '[is] to point out where British capital can, with advantage and security, be employed in the Balkans'¹¹⁷ and the guiding, and *encouraging*, of investment comes to harmonise nicely with his desire to demystify the region. On the one hand, as with R.H.R., such encouragement was achieved through a divergence from the normal balkanist paradigms into complimentary forms of representation, Le Queux building on the former's evocation of natural wealth by adding a few features essential for successful investment - security, improved communications and solid structures of government. On the other hand, it could also be achieved through a degree zero of representational attainment. Le Queux's summary chapter on Serbian towns, arranged alphabetically, gives an idea of what I mean:

Kralievo . . .	Chief town of the arrondissement of the same name, department of Tchatchak. 4200 inhabitants. Lead and iron mines. Military school.
Kroupanie . . .	Town of the department of Loznitza. Lead, zinc, and antimony mines.
Kruschevatz . . .	Chief town of the arrondissement and department of that name, with 6200 inhabitants. Ancient residence of the Tzars of Serbia. Vine culture. [169]

Here, shorn of almost all extraneous detail, the Serbian landscape is reduced for the prospective investor to a type of shopping list. With the text arranged for utmost visual clarity, and with all the distractions of aesthetic judgement and cultural complexity withdrawn, the British venture capitalist has at hand the few, frank facts required to pick out the most desirable object for his capital. Stylistically, this is the scientific style at its most intransigent and, politically, imagined colonialism at its most transparent. For Le Queux, no mean supporter of British interests,¹¹⁸ the fantasy of using the region for

¹¹⁷ Le Queux, *Observer*, p. 191.

¹¹⁸ Le Queux is the author of one of the most famous 'invasion stories', *The Invasion of 1910* (1906). For an interesting discussion of this most patriotic of literary genres, and one which puts Le Queux's novel in social and historical context, see M. Spiering, *Englishness: Foreigners and Images of National Identity in Postwar Literature* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992), pp. 97-129.

British ends involves not only financial gain for the nation and the nation's investors, but also the trouncing of 'Germany and German interests'[268], whose gradual economic and diplomatic hegemony in the Near East, Le Queux urges, 'should very seriously engage the immediate and earnest attention of all British statesmen who have the true interests of our Empire at heart'[309]. In R.H.R.'s and Le Queux's championing of British interest, whether furthering its interests abroad or preserving social order at home, the travel writer, as part of the broader pattern of remuneration, could derive a warm sense of duty and upstandingness.¹¹⁹

Its investment might not have achieved the levels that Le Queux desired, but Britain did indeed have a considerable financial stake in the Balkans, as I detailed earlier. The indebtedness to British financial houses that plagued the Porte in Victorian times was continuing in Le Queux's day, simply passing from the economic control of the Empire to that of the independent states, as Serbia, Bulgaria and even Greece found their domestic budget largely directed by western Europe. And it is at this point, when reminded of the hegemony the West did indeed gain in the Balkans, that one must express a qualification about the term imagined colonialism. British travel writing of the period certainly involved fantasies of self and nation, as well as imagined levels of control on the part of the individual, but such fantasies nevertheless facilitated, and were facilitated by, a very real dynamic of power in the material sphere. The economic and political control analysed earlier (trade, investment, diplomatic and military strategy), and the discursive production that supported it, all rendered the peninsula subordinate to British interests. The travellers and residents entering the region were aware of its subordinate status and therefore, coming from a dominant culture, more than likely to pursue the authority, adventure, freedoms and advocacy of imperial causes to which their civilised standing supposedly entitled them. Clearly, in order to view themselves in this way, the production of the Balkan peoples as their opposite was required, travel writers projecting all the irrationality, savagery and prejudice to which Englishness was heir onto these peoples ('[t]hese damned swine', as a colleague of William Graves had it¹²⁰), and as a consequence gaining not only the full measure of their civility, but also the right to

¹¹⁹ For others who either encourage business or survey a Balkan country's resources, see Ansted, *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania*, Herbert Vivian, *Servia* and *The Servian Tragedy* and William Miller, *Travels and Politics in the Near East*.

¹²⁰ Graves, *Storm Centres*, p. 341.

wield their authority over the region. And in representing the peoples thus, the wider construction of the Balkans as a subordinate culture was reiterated, a form of knowledge that in turn legitimised British power in south-east Europe.

What I have attempted to emphasise in this section, however, is that the support which representation exhibits for national power is inseparable from a network of rewards for the producer of representation, and that in terms of British travel writing on the Balkans this remuneration aped the pattern of reward and privilege gained by the travel writers' peers in British colonies. In an age dominated by discourses - of religion, race and class - that constructed the westerner as superior, it is not surprising that the understandings of self and other in both colonial and non-colonial situations were reasonably similar, or that travellers would partake in the dominance their nation was achieving diplomatically, commercially and militarily. Indeed, it is this conjunction of national ambition and personal desire that lies at the heart of balkanism. The subordination of the Balkans achieved by denigratory representation, as I shall go on to study further in my chapter on late twentieth century travel writing, meant the dominance of both the British nation *and* the Briton.

Despite the apparent solidity of nineteenth-century balkanism, there were a number of factors that worked to destabilise the signifying practice of the age. The paradigm was neither as constant nor as monolithic as the texts' mimetic assumptions, or indeed their assured, rationalist autobiographical personae, would seem to suggest to the reader. The slippage by which Derrida has taught us to deconstruct the literary text was widespread within Victorian and Edwardian travel writing, as is illustrated by the paradoxes informing the major tropes of balkanist discourse. There was always an impossible irony, for example, in balkanism's constructing as rigid and unchanging an object it simultaneously declared was bewilderingly chaotic, an irony heightened by the reproduction of that supposed chaos in a series of bold, declarative sentences far more indicative of stability and permanence.¹²¹ There were the paradoxes, too, of travel writers

¹²¹ Homi Bhabha reiterates the point via his notion of 'fixity' in colonial discourse: see my Chapter 6, p. 293.

so effortlessly penetrating mystery on even the shortest journey around the Balkan region, so simultaneously imagining its populations as childlike and threatening, and so persistently constructing as savage societies that usually appear more inclined towards hospitality than hostility. Similarly, for deconstructing the discourse and its source materials, there are no better methods than noting the paradoxes inherent in nineteenth-century representations of the self. As I have suggested in reference to E.F. Knight, not only do travellers display all the iniquities - sexism, brutality, duplicity, illegality, even discord (when travelling in a group) - that they projected onto the Balkan other, but their autobiographical scriptings are chock-full of hesitations, contradictions, silences and obfuscations, not to mention the most horrendous errors in spellings, dates and names which, particularly before the professionalisation of travel writing in the twentieth century, were a common feature of a genre produced by amateur writers working to uncomfortable deadlines. Indeed, it often seems to me that the challenge for academic analysis lies less in deconstruction, in the locating of internal sites of discursive splitting, than in piecing together some kind of order from the riot of miscellaneous anomalies that comprise the surface impression of the texts.¹²²

Nevertheless, mention of discourse splitting helps to cast doubt on the air of stability and empiricism that surrounds the denigratory utterances of pre-First World War balkanism. Foucault's notion of history as conceptual 'war', as 'struggles [...] of strategies and tactics'¹²³ for control of discursive fields, is as pertinent to balkanism as it is to the study of any interpretative framework, with the former holding within itself an uneasy conjunction of competing ideologies and subject positions that, upon recognition, radically diversifies our sense of the discourse and of the forms of power it facilitates. The particular oppositional strain that I am interested in here, and that I shall consider as a form of counter-discourse in the following section, is that strand of complimentary representation, or idealising primitivism, to be found competing for precedence amongst the motifs of discord, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, a strand which

¹²² I disagree with Mills's inference when she claims that 'colonial texts seem to be all surface': the point (which is ostensibly about the genre of travel) not only holds off discussion of the deeper psychological elements, social presumptions and narrative structures that comprise the travel text, but also implies that the surface itself is somehow straightforward and homogeneous (see Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, p. 11).

¹²³ See Foucault, 'Truth and Power', p. 114.

renegotiates the negative markers of Victorian balkanism, and invests them with positive signification. I would not argue that the one strand was necessarily a radical departure from the other. Just as the British denigration of its cultural others was indebted to the classical education of its proponents, so too was complimentary representation, the classical age helping to inaugurate that primitivist literary tradition of locating in the historical past a highly idealised conception of reality, and of reproducing that conception both as an alternative to, and palliative for, contemporary decadence. In time, as Neil Rennie details in the context of South Sea exploration, the myth of the Golden Age began to transform into the myth of a utopian geographical present, becoming known as the Blessed Isles in Hesiod, the Elysian Fields in Servius and Horace, establishing the idea that the delights of an earthly paradise were an extant, living actuality discoverable through physical travel.¹²⁴ The legend not only gained a beguiling hold over Renaissance explorations, with voyagers seeking and occasionally discovering places and peoples that they invested with the primitivist attributes derived from the ancients, but also over more modern Enlightenment and Romantic thinkers. This indeed was the other side of Western European notions of savagery, the good as opposed to bad savage,¹²⁵ or the idealised personification of innocence, nobility, heroism, primitive simplicity and virtue. In other words, primitivism was another conceptual tradition, and one which seemed to repeat the condescending denial of coevalness that informed Victorian denigration. Yet however culturally compromised it was, I hope to show how complimentary representation exerted a destabilising effect on the personal and national binarism that underlay dominant signifying practices and, moreover, began to feed into the wider oppositional discourses of romanticism, of nationalism and, much later on, of communism.

As the complimentary style of representation will be analysed in full during Chapters 3 and 4, I do not wish to go into too much detail here. The important point to emphasise is simply that before 1914 the style attained only marginal status in both text and period. It was certainly rare for complimentary representation not to crop up in some form or another in Victorian and Edwardian travelogues, a factor that indicates the writers' inability to sustain wholly denigratory essentialisation of the region. Yet when positive and negative representation jostled in a text, such was the accumulated weight

¹²⁴ See Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, pp. 5-7.

¹²⁵ Rennie terms these two archetypes the 'two fundamentally opposed attitudes of civilised man to primitive man' (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

of denigration within that text, as well as the weight of denigratory balkanism in circulation around the text, that positive representation hardly achieved any status. The point can be exemplified by a return to Brown's *A Winter in Albania*, a fine instance of the classical imaginings of the nineteenth-century traveller. There are moments in the travelogue when the author's lamentable censure of the indigenes makes way for an unbounded admiration of virile masculinity, of well-built, handsome mountaineers ('every man as straight as an arrow and as hard as a nail'), each with the 'warrior-spirit of his forefathers', 'powerful, brave, and hospitable', and with such 'stately courtesy', 'honour' and 'natural good-breeding' that one senses, in fact, all the Homeric qualities that imperial Britain most liked to find about itself, a kind of Englishness in miniature.¹²⁶ But finally, any sense of authorial approval is quickly offset by a return to accusation and slur, as occurs in many other Victorian and Edwardian texts in which primitivism appears, such as Knight's *Albania*, Trevor's *Montenegro*, Foster Fraser's *Pictures from the Balkans* or De Windt's *Through Savage Europe*. On occasion, and increasingly after the turn of the twentieth century, one finds travelogues in which complimentary representation is dominant, although this rarely indicates the presence of counter-discourse. I have already detailed, for example, the use of positive representation for the purposes of encouraging emigration and business, a usage that aimed to entrench western hegemony in the region. Similarly, there were texts in which an appreciation of certain fundamental aspects of Balkan landscape - scenery, costume, folk crafts - certainly undermines the region's reputation for violence and depravity, but which nevertheless fails to extend to an advocacy of national aspiration against Ottoman or Austrian overlords.¹²⁷ This is particularly clear in a series of travelogues on the western Balkans, in which fondness for the region is predicated partly or fully on the colonial

¹²⁶ Brown, *Winter in Albania*, pp. 102, 53, 58, 268, 60, 268. Brown also finds the Montenegrins 'fearless and almost invincible warriors'[22] of great 'physical development'[14] but finally prefers the Albanians (see *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 269). For examples of how closely such primitivism could come to resemble the nineteenth-century notion of masculine Englishness, see Booth, *Trouble*, pp. 115-7, 248; de Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 27; Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, pp. 123, 227; Peacock, *Albania*, p. 199; Wyon and Prance, *Black Mountain*, pp. xvii-iii, 167-8, 196, 218; Buxton, *Bulgarian Staff*, pp. 22, 42, 76, 143-50, 159; Moore, *Balkan Trail*, pp. 53-4; Trevor, *Balkan Tour*, 240; Trevor, *Montenegro*, pp. 87-8; Vivian, *Servia*, pp. ix, 46-7, 84, 237-41, 268, 277.

¹²⁷ Such appreciation of landscape and custom might not even extend to an appreciation of the indigenous population: see the patterns of representation, for example, in Creagh, *Over the Borders of*

past. In J.M. Neale's *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque*, Wingfield's *A Tour of Dalmatia*, Jackson's *The Shores of the Adriatic*, even in an early section of *A Winter in Albania*, the writers' fondness for antiquated ruins and Venetian architecture, and zealous annotations in the text of large chunks of colonial history, all help to write the region as a subjugated territory, and implicitly throw weight behind the contemporary imperial presence.¹²⁸ Even positive textual constructions could reproduce the Balkans as colonial territory.

There was a mode of balkanist signification, however, that did complement indigenous peoples, and at the same time advanced an oppositional politics. The thing is what Todorova sums up as the pet state approach to south-east Europe: the choosing from amongst the Balkan states a people whose predicaments to abhor, whose history and indigenous leaders to commend, whose political grievances to air, and whose national aspirations to advocate. Along with challenging the discourse's imperialist tendencies, national advocacy would undercut both the denigratory format of dominant balkanism and its racialist codifications of the Balkan peninsula as a homogenised zone of misfortune and degeneracy, with writers retaining denigratory essentialisation even as they delineated - without any awareness of the paradox - a people that apparently broke with the imputed essence. In this way, Trevor's valorisation of the Montenegrins, Vivian's romanticisation of the Serbs, Upward's endorsement of the Greeks, or Peacock's clear preference for the Albanians, are all based on contrasting the positive attributes of their chosen peoples with the thoroughly negative qualities of the Balkan ethnicities surrounding them; a source of genuine confusion for the general reader, no doubt, who might find the Serbians, say, lauded against the Bulgarians in one text, and then the very opposite in the next.¹²⁹ The underwriting of a favoured nation, in short,

Christendom and Eslamiah, Holbach, *Dalmatia*, Holbach, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Hitchens, *The Near East*, Walker, *Untrodden Paths in Roumania*, and Neale, *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque*.

¹²⁸ As I have mentioned on pp. 85-9 above, at times such texts were explicit in their support for Austria. I feel Allcock is wrong to find the classical interests of nineteenth-century travel writers unnuanced and unconnected to power (see Allcock, 'Constructing the Balkans', pp. 181-5). Walter Tyndale and Horatio Brown's *Dalmatia* is a late example of this imperial enthusiasm for the past conquerors of the Balkans.

¹²⁹ See, for example, the patterns of representation in Peacock, *Albania*, pp. 178-82, 256; Upward, *East End*, pp. 5, 76; Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, pp. 278-83; Wyon and Prance, *Black Mountain*, pp. xv, xvii, 3-4, 61, 191, 196, 199-201, 206-9, 223; Trevor, *Montenegro*, pp. 75-9. There is an interesting contrast to be seen between Mackenzie and Irby's support for the Bulgarians and Serbia and their disapproval of the Bosnian muslims, Albanians and Vlachs. Despite succumbing to national favouritism in his own

was one that profoundly split the discourse, and worked to question the necessity, and justice, of western imperial rule.

Perhaps the best-known instance of Balkan advocacy is Mary Edith Durham's fervent championing of Albanian ambition during the early decades of the twentieth century. Ethnologist, relief worker, journalist, tireless propagandist and adventurer, Durham was author of seven book-length studies and countless articles on Balkan affairs, many of which projected onto her chosen group the classical virtues lying behind British masculinity. The thing is shown in *High Albania* (1909), her best-known account of a small Balkan country which, as she fondly wrote, had 'about the worst reputation in Europe'.¹³⁰ The book details a series of journeys taken during the Young Turk revolution of 1908, in which the overthrow of the old regime in Istanbul, and the proclamation of a new Constitution, not only intimated that imperial injustice might ease but, contrary to its purpose, inspired many Albanians with the hope that national independence might also be approaching, a hope that Durham shared with a fervour. Although she does have criticisms of their culture,¹³¹ her Albanians are generally, like those of Brown, the recognisable warriors of antiquity, characterised by their courtesy, hospitality and integrity, as well as their admirable masculinity, these being 'magnificent specimens' of manhood, with 'lean supple figures', 'extraordinary dignity',¹³² and a noble history of fiercely guarding their freedom from Ottoman encroachment. Such a clear departure from denigratory balkanism is extended by the way Durham finds in the country, not discordance or violence, but a highly structured society characterised by order, hierarchy and inter-communal respect. The attribute is evocatively portrayed in Durham's descriptions of the wild celebrations that followed the acceptance of the

balkanist writings, Upward comments that the western commentators' contradictory choices of pet states to support 'reproduce[s] the same divisions which exist out there' (Upward, *East End*, p. 46).

¹³⁰ Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), p. 15. This acknowledgement of, and writing against common preconceptions of Albania was common in Durham's work: see *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 345; Durham, *High Albania*, new ed. (1909; London: Virago, 1985), pp. 41, 54, 220; Durham, *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 192, 232; Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1905), pp. 115, 154.

¹³¹ Such criticisms include a censure of Albanian backwardness, sexism, childishness, and a deploring of the local blood feud: see, for example, *High Albania*, pp. 66, 111, 196; *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. viii, 4, 88, 215.

¹³² Durham, *High Albania*, pp. 49, 50, 150. In a passage representative of her masculinisation of the Albanians, she talks about a particular militarised town being '[l]ike a couchant tiger, brilliant, bizarre, and beautiful, [...] ever ready to spring' [274].

Constitution, in which, despite thousands of armed Albanians roaming Shkodër and firing off guns, 'there were no fatalities, nor any street fighting nor drunkenness', and 'perfect order was maintained'[224]. Indeed, if one wished to berate the gun-culture evident in such a scene then Durham would also stand condemned: 'Down the main street I went,' writes the Edwardian gentlewoman, 'blazing ball-cartridge from a Martini, and ran about the Cathedral grounds, firing any revolver handed me'[228]. This passionate approval of Albanian liberty, and constant location of cultural order, all inferred the possibility of self-government,¹³³ and is perhaps most evident in her sketch of the return from exile of Prenk Paşa, the man most likely to take over as king.

We thronged into the wood, where, under a great tree, was spread a carpet. He [Prenk Paşa] took his seat upon a chair, his crimson fez making a brilliant blot on the greenleaf background. Then all his male relatives [...] were presented to him. I thought of the forest of Arden, where they "fleeted the time pleasantly as in the Golden Age" - as each in turn strode up, "an hero beauteous among all the throng" dropped on one knee, and did homage, kissing his chieftain's hand with simple dignity. The tribesmen stood around in a great circle, the sunflecks dancing on their white clothes, and glinting on gunbarrel and cartridge-belt. [341]

However one might deplore the literary medievalisms informing Durham's Albania, this 'Land of the Living Past'[344], as she calls it, such representation articulated, in an unrepentantly colonial age, both a respect, even awe towards a colonised people and an earnest desire for their independence from Ottoman *and* Great Power interference, a highly unusual desire during the period.¹³⁴ The extent of Durham's departure from her contemporaries, however, should not be overestimated. On the one hand, her Balkan advocacy extended no further than that of Albania, and when dealing with other

¹³³ She writes that she does not feel 'if they believed in the Government and were fairly treated, would the mountain tribes be very difficult to govern. They have the most wonderful power of obedience where they believe obedience due, and usually obey their house-lord [family head] absolutely' (Ibid., p. 183). She also says: 'Loyal, capable of much hero-worship, they would follow to the death a Prince in whom they believe'[328].

¹³⁴ For other examples of Durham's respect for Albanian culture and advocacy of Albanian national discourse, see *High Albania*, pp. 60, 93, 118, 150, 183, 220, 223-231, 274-5, 294-6, 328-9; *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 71-5, 231-5, 317; *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 98, 169-70, 183, 204, 297, 307. Durham was vehemently anti-Ottoman: see, for example, *Lands of the Serb*, pp. 206, 285, 345.

ethnicities, particularly the Montenegrins, with whom the northern Albanian tribes were often in conflict, Durham was as denigratory as the next observer.¹³⁵ On the other hand, while the author's perilous, solitary adventures may have transgressed certain Edwardian codes of female propriety, constructing 'herself as an active participant in a daring history',¹³⁶ they also led her to develop a particularly virulent form of imperious Englishness. Befitting a region defined by the masculine, Durham exhibits the same bravado, endurance, self-assurance, empiricism, even penchant for male camaraderie (for she has little to do with Albanian women) as her male predecessors, as well as the same keenness for 'intra-European discovery', as Kostova terms this sub-species of Victorian exploration.¹³⁷ Indeed, one senses at times, in both her relief work and political researches, that Durham's love is less for the country than for what she can personally achieve there, the very fact that she soon becomes known by the sobriquet 'the Queen of the Highlands' offering a good indication of the writer's imagined colonialism.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ It should be mentioned that Durham's first work, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (1904), was actually pro-Serbian and predominantly anti-Albanian (see, for example, *Lands of the Serb*, pp. 77, 90). This she later excused (*Balkan Tangle*, p. 45), and already by the time of *The Burden of the Balkans* (1905) her feelings had begun to favour the Albanians. See, for example, her comments on the Serbs and the Montenegrins in *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 18, 132, 167, 183-5, 197-200; *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 230-42, 252-3, 271, 293-4, 298-303; *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 11, 51, 53-5, 169; *Some Tribal Origins*, pp. 31, 33, 49, 76-7, 275. See also her comments on the Bulgarians and Romanians: *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 45, 53, 65, 69, 92, 247, 281. For some of Durham's denigratory, eminently quotable comments on the peninsula as a whole, see *Struggle for Scutari*, p. 315; *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 14, 150, 194, 213, 223, 239, 289; *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 12, 44, 38, 38-9, 44.

¹³⁶ Dea Birkett's words on another female traveller in an age of imperialism, May French-Sheldon: in Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 24. See, for example, Durham's enormous self-satisfaction at reaching one remote spot in northern Albania: 'And quite a crowd came merely to look at us, for I was said to be the first foreign female and the first female dressed *alla franga*, in Vuthaj; and the first foreigner of any sort that had come right into Vuthaj' (Durham, *High Albania*, p. 138).

¹³⁷ Kostova, *Tales of the Periphery*, p. 52. Durham's sense is for the most part of 'tell[ing] a plain tale of the main facts' (Durham, *Struggle for Scutari*, p. vii), though empirical doubt also entered her work - see my Chapter 4, pp. 223-4.

¹³⁸ Phillips makes the point in a discussion of Bessie Merchant, saying that the female writer can both 'undermine or unmap some aspects of the predominantly masculinist geography of adventure' and support 'the British colonial establishment', 'mapping colonial geographies in conventional ways' (Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, pp. 19-20; see also pp. 89-112). A writer like Durham certainly problematises any notion that 'women writers of travel have tended to mistrust the rhetoric of mastery, conquest, and quest that has funded a good deal of male fictional and nonfictional travel' (see Karen R. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 20). Julie Wheelwright makes the point that for many

Where Durham was significant, however, is in the way her work on Albania managed to presage the imminent transformations that would take place to the British concept of the Balkans. Her mixture of national advocacy and positive representation was rare in the nineteenth century, as were the criticisms of westernism and western diplomacy that littered her texts, but would go on to become the norm in balkanist signification in the second decade of the twentieth century. The process of diachronic rupture would henceforward characterise the discourse, and become the most important property for both revealing balkanist discourse as a contested terrain and for foregrounding the element of choice that lies behind its representation of the region. The balkanism of the Victorian and Edwardian periods, in short, had a very definite cluster of attributes - a style, a register, a guiding philosophy and set of motifs, which all combined to signify the Balkans as the western European other. By 1914, all of this was set to change.

women 'an active independent life could only be imagined in male terms' (Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness*, new ed. (1989; London: Pandora, 1990), p. 50. See also Grewal, *Home and Harem*, pp. 61, 67. For a sense of Durham's masculinism, see *High Albania*, pp. 64, 71, 130-1, 156-7, 226, 228, 236, 254, 273, 315, 335; *Lands of the Serb*, pp. 183, 286, 326; *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 206, 235, 268, 283, 313, 338; *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 33, 37, 50, 101, 107, 136, 154, 171, 175, 198-9, 211, 222, 282-5; *Tribal Origins*, p. 179; *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 9-10, 43, 53, 75, 81, 111, 191, 225. Naturally, Durham was always at the centre of things both in her journey and as a narrator, interpreting the West to the Balkan peoples and the Balkan peoples to the West - this centrality, this in-betweenness, is the traveller's most desired position.

SECTION TWO



1914-1939

CHAPTER THREE

WARTIME COLLABORATION

There is a moment in John Foster Fraser's *Pictures from the Balkans*, first published in 1906, which gives a further glimpse of the representational paradigm that would soon command the field of balkanism. Robust, imperious, highly self-satisfied, Foster Fraser's not untypical account of Balkan journeying brings him to recollections of Studenica, a Serbian Orthodox monastery in what is now the wartorn Yugoslav province of Kosova. There, caught up in the memory of his stay, the mood of the text begins to change. With an astonished, almost dreamlike wonder, this 'doyen of Balkan travellers'¹ recounts an early service he witnessed on his first morning, when dawn stole across surrounding hills, black-cloaked monks gathered in the candle-lit church, incantation rose above the monastery compound and Foster Fraser begins feeling he 'had slipped back through centuries' to another age. 'The clamour of great cities,' he writes, 'the screech of trains, the conflicts of commerce, the maddening, deadening scramble for wealth - all such things were but a blurred dream from which I had just awakened', and he goes on to question whether 'the simple life in a monastery - [...] where indeed the world stands still, the same to-day as four centuries ago - is really the life beautiful.' These musings do not recur in the text, but the image of this staunchly Victorian traveller temporarily turning his back on 'rushing civilisation, and 'bathing [his] soul in peace' at a Balkan monastery marks a notable departure from the cultural fealty of the average imperial subject. This was that experience, in fact, which all one's colonial training had been to guard oneself against: the moment when the mores of the host culture start to overwhelm those of the homeland, and the chains of Englishness lose their grip on the travelling selfhood.²

¹ Bernard Newman, *Albanian Back-door* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1936), p. 190.

² Foster Fraser, *Pictures*, p. 48. The author soon reasserts his Englishness by denying 'any priggish pretension to devoutness'[48]. Spiritual experience, uncommon in Victorian journeys in the Balkans,

By the 1920s, Foster Fraser's misgivings about western society had not only become a prevailing feature of British travel writing on the Balkans, but gained widespread expression within intellectual circles of the day. The pace of modernisation had already been alarming such influential commentators as Arnold, Ruskin and Tennyson in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³ The economic rate of growth of Britain, France and Germany had reached unprecedented levels, industrial development and exports were greater than ever, producing via rapidly burgeoning empires a global network of commercial and financial influence, urbanisation had been radically altering the forms and values of national life, as well as eroding England's enduringly pastoral self-image,⁴ and technology was achieving bewildering levels of progress, all developments which, to quote from Berman's classic study of modernity, kept both society and the individual in 'a state of perpetual becoming',⁵ constantly eradicating old structures, practices and landscapes, and formulating new patterns of belief. By the turn of the twentieth century, it was these upheavals to traditional belief that were to be felt particularly profoundly. In the place of Victorian certainty came a sudden surge in scepticism, as Freud and Bergson challenged rationality and objectivity, feminism challenged patriarchal assumptions, working class radicalism increasingly threatened middle class security, and science asked ever more pertinent questions of Christianity. During the second decade of that century, even those who had put their faith in science and progress were to find that faith severely tested. The imperialistic attitudes of the past, so central to the Balkan adventurer, had found their nemesis in the Balkan peninsula itself, the assassination in Sarajevo of the heir to the Austrian throne, on 28 June 1914, unleashing a wave of violence within and amongst the supposedly progressive states that deployed all the West's technological expertise to facilitate its greatest moment of

began occurring elsewhere in the Edwardian period: see Cary, *Memoir*, pp. 152-4; Peacock, *Albania*, p. 131; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 182; Phillimore, *Carpathians*, pp. 44, 78, 155-7, 332, 388.

³ See Jerome Hamilton Buckley's *The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress, and Decadence* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 55-94.

⁴ Jean Radford writes, 'the best of English traditions was deemed to be in the past and the past was to be found in the countryside. The city stood for change, the country for continuity [...] and permanence' (Radford, 'Coming to Terms: Dorothy Richardson, Modernism and Women', in Brooker, ed., *Modernism/Post-modernism*, p. 104. See also Williams's *The Country and the City*.

⁵ Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 16.

destruction. The technology which had formed the foundation for the development of western civilisation was now being used to destroy it.

The Britain that endured and emerged from the First World War, and which will form my focus throughout this section, was far from a radicalised, or even a sceptical nation. The social power base that Richard Rorty succinctly termed 'the North Atlantic bourgeoisie'⁶ was, with a few concessions, still entrenched at home, and abroad preserved an empire that some argue was still at its peak.⁷ Yet for a notable minority, the barbarities of the war had substantiated the ideas of decadence, political cynicism and philosophical doubt which had been circulating since the nineteenth century, and - crucially here - severely problematised that ideological binarism of civilised self and savage other which was still informing the West's collective self-image. Such exacting self-examination was not only caused by the First World War. On the one hand, the nation's imperial activities, particularly after the Boer War, were becoming viewed less as the grand civilising mission of official pronouncement and popular imagination than as blatant atrocity, 'the vilest scramble for loot', Conrad believed, 'that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration.'⁸ On the other, self-critique came to a head in writings on the sprawling modern city, where many commentators were uncovering in the domestic context all the fragmentation, chaos, mystery and violence that were traditionally projected onto a region like the Balkans.⁹ The literature that emerged from the recognition of the West's own iniquities was concerned to explore social ills, but above all to find expression for the sensibility created by 'the immense panorama of futility and anarchy' of the age,¹⁰ one alienated, cynical, despairing and profoundly at odds with the integrated subject of much nineteenth-century fiction and autobiography. It was this sensibility that drove the new literature of modernism, and

⁶ Rorty, quoted in Hans Bertens, *The Idea of the Postmodern: A History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 194.

⁷ See, for example, P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914-1990* (London and New York: Longman, 1993), pp. 3-7.

⁸ Conrad is referring specifically to Belgian exploitation of the Congo: quoted in Cedric Watts, *A Preface to Conrad*, 2nd. ed. (1982; London and New York: Longman, 1993), pp. 25-6.

⁹ Bradbury's evocation of the western metropolis as 'a contingent and polyglot Tower of Babel' does something to summarise such commentaries: see Bradbury, 'The Cities of Modernism', in Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, *Modernism 1890-1930* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 98.

¹⁰ Eliot cited in Astradur Eysteinnsson, *The Concept of Modernism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 9.

that also stands as a vital framework for understanding the paradigm of travel that emerged in the modernist age.

The experience of social malaise and social alienation were - to put the point another way - as central to literary travel as the presumptions of imperialism were to a previous generation, interacting and shaping that travel during all its stages, from motivation, choice of destination and style of journeying to the final patterns of representation and literary poetics. To begin with the first two stages, departure occurred from one of several motives. On the most straightforward level, the journey could result from a heartfelt need to escape the misery and carnage that prevailed during the years of conflict. In his *Abroad* (1980), Paul Fussell describes how once the war had lost its initial air of pluck and adventure, the thought of travelling to more placid climes, particularly to the tropics, with their warmth, repose and natural freedom of movement, appeared enormously attractive for those servicemen facing the appalling horror of European battlefields: 'The "tropical" motif', as Fussell writes, 'becomes a widespread imaginative possession of all in the trenches who were cold, tired, and terrified.'¹¹ For those stuck for the duration in Britain, the lure of the 'exotic' could be no less powerful. As Fussell goes on to describe, the restriction on private travel abroad, the food and fuel shortages, the drab urban milieux and, for the more cosmopolitan, intellectual restriction and small-mindedness, all made abroad a vastly attractive proposition by 1920, and resulted both in the vast expansion of tourism, travel and travel writing in the 1920s and 1930s, and in a large percentage of major poets and novelists residing away from the homeland.¹² As many of those writers demonstrated, however, and as Foster Fraser's sojourn at

¹¹ Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5.

¹² Lawrence was one of those stranded in Britain during the war, and one of the most determined self-exiles afterwards. His desire to escape both society and the war was overwhelming: 'The only thing to be done now', he wrote in 1915, 'is either to go down with the ship, or [...] leave the ship, and like a castaway live a life apart. As for me, I do not belong to the ship [...]. As far as I possibly can I will stand outside this time, I will live my life, and if possible be happy, while the whole world slides in horror down into the bottomless pit' (Lawrence, from a letter of 17.2.1915 cited in Graham Holderness, *Women in Love* (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986), p. 95). Fussell offers an extensive outline of what he terms 'the British Literary Diaspora' in Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 11. The list includes Robert Graves, Norman Douglas and Lawrence Durrell in southern Europe, Aldous Huxley, Christopher Isherwood and W.H. Auden in the US, and Edmund Blunden and William Empson in the Far East. With self-chosen exile being as common amongst continental and American writers of the period, Fussell concludes that 'diaspora seems one of the signals of literary modernism'.

Studenica might indicate, escape was not the only motivation for travel. Often bound up with these 'fantasies of flight and freedom'¹³ was a more active quest for value and meaning in a post-war age which brought to the individual journey an air of pilgrimage. In the less developed parts of the globe in particular, travellers were searching for either psychic stability, with which to counteract the vertiginous sense of 'rushing civilisation', or else some metaphysical certainty, rejecting what Rockwell Gray terms 'a civilisation they deemed bent on self-destruction' in favour of 'spiritual renewal through contact with non-western cultures', where 'something vital', some 'sense of the holy', was felt to remain.¹⁴ This is clear not only in travel writing, but also in the more canonical literature of the modernist era. Joyce's Stephen Dedalus, Woolf's Rachel Vinrace, Lawrence's Rupert Birkin, Eliot's Fisher King, amongst many others, all view physical escape from the bourgeois, materialist convention of the post-war West to be a necessary part of their search for higher, absolute truth.¹⁵

For the other stages of literary travel, and befitting the new motives for exiting the West, the style of representing oneself and one's travelled environment diverged considerably from the dominant styles of the past. No longer the savage backdrop of adventure, the gauge of one's civility, or a culture in need of western administration, the pre-modern locale was now evaluated according to how well it delivered those qualities that the travellers had desired before setting off; and such regions rarely disappointed. When escape from the crises and concerns of civilisation was sought, then enjoyment, gentle appreciation and respect, along with sly asides on the society they had left behind, were the norm. Should spiritual solace have been the aspiration, then a radical overhaul of traditional balkanism, and the creation of a literary primitivism more suitable for revelation, was apparent. As argued at the end of the last chapter, the themes, images and evaluations used by the modern traveller were not original, merely the classical

¹³ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁴ Gray, 'Travel', in Kowalewski, *Temperamental Journeys*, pp. 46, 46, 46, 40.

¹⁵ See James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist* (1916), Virginia Woolf, *The Voyage Out* (1915), D.H. Lawrence, *Women in Love* (1921), T.S. Eliot, 'The Wasteland' (1922). Douwe Fokkema and Elrud Ibsch consider '[t]ravel an important theme for all Modernists', and argue that 'the modernist character is a *personality*, who by intellectual means makes himself free of the determination of material conditions, time, place, and psychological inclinations' (Fokkema and Ibsch, *Modernist Conjectures: A Mainstream in European Literature 1910-1940* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1987), pp. 320, 37). Nicholls also views 'the shock of 'exile' and cultural contrast' as central to many Anglo-American modernists (Peter Nicholls, *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 165).

virtues that had been developed through Enlightenment thinkers like Rousseau, Diderot and Jean Lafitau and which were still present in the nineteenth-century romantic cults of nature and the sublime. The culture evoked was that of 'the *bon sauvage*', as Hampson described it, one 'leading a moral life by the light of natural religion', 'benevolent by nature', and whom many *philosophes* had idealised for the simplicity and authenticity which 'the sophisticated European'¹⁶ had lost, and in whose company - so it was felt - the shortcomings of 'Europeanness' could be shed. This is a long way from the staunch empiricism of the Victorian, but not so far as it seems. The new generation not only maintained faith in the objective gaze, merely exchanging scientific observation for romantic intuition, but also constructed the Balkan object - unsurprisingly considering its reliance on Enlightenment thought - in ways that often suggested a kind of embryonic Englishness. As I shall be discussing, western cultural assumption still patterned how the non-western world was understood.

What had been original, however, after three centuries of denigration, is that it was this latter, more complimentary style that dominated the British concept of the Balkans in the inter-war years. From the end of the First World War until the outbreak of the Second, travellers were finding in this previously depraved corner of Europe, in these 'blade-and-bullet countries',¹⁷ a peace, harmony, vivacity and pastoral beauty in utmost contrast to the perceived barrenness of the West, and which produced benefits for those weary of modernity that ranged from personal rejuvenation to outright revelation. According to this alternative balkanism, violence had disappeared from the region, savagery became tamed, obfuscation turned to honesty and clarity, and the extreme backwardness that had formerly been the gauge of Balkan shortcoming was now the very measure by which it was extolled. For many travellers, any mystery that did remain around the geographical object became less the marker of a befuddled and dishonest culture than a vital indication of spiritual depth. In challenging the earlier paradigm, so considerable were the effects of the new discursive repertoire, in style of representation

¹⁶ Hampson, *Enlightenment*, pp. 27, 99, 107. Outram writes on this strand of Enlightenment thinking that '[t]he 'natural' was seen as the 'good', meaning original, authentic, simple, uncorrupted, and, by extension, in the works of Rousseau and others, as a state opposed to 'civilisation' with all its artificiality and corruption' (Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 50).

¹⁷ Booth, *Trouble*, p. 68.

and scale of output (more travelogues having been produced between 1915 and 1939 than in the previous three hundred years), that it not only eradicated the work of its predecessors as a source of reference for the period, but also had a deep impact on British conceptualisation well into the latter decades of the Cold War. The period, in short, offered ample evidence of Foucault's anti-historicist categories 'of threshold, rupture and transformation';¹⁸ it was a tremendous discontinuity in the way not only the other but also the self were perceived and constructed in texts, and indicative of the way discourse, however stable and uncomplicated each discursive manifestation may project itself, is always split, precarious in form and subject to enormous change over time. Balkanism was exactly this site of contending images, not denigration alone,¹⁹ but also a positive mode of representation, peripheral during the nineteenth century, but predominant during the first half of the twentieth.

Of course, one thing that did remain constant, despite the great shift between moments of balkanism, was the discourse's attachment to power. Although travellers at their most extreme desired freedom from British convention, this did not mean their knowledge floated free from discursive constraint, or eluded a very real relation to the dominant political currents of the day. As I aim to show, there was close reciprocation between shifts in representational structure and the transformation taking place in the fields of economics, politics and the European balance of power. Such transformation was already augured by the final collapse of 'Turkey-in-Europe' in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. In a joint military action, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro rose against the Porte, defeating the imperial army in weeks and liberating the whole of the southern peninsula. The nationalist movements of the western Balkans, inspired by the insurrection, stepped up their own campaign against an Austria now determined, with its

¹⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, new ed., trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (1969; London: Routledge, 1989), p. 14. For Levenson, '[t]he modernist decades were a time of epochal shift', with stylistic paradigms in literature and art transforming in response to social transformation; the changes evident in travel writing were a part of this transformation (see Michael Levenson, 'Introduction' to Levenson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 12).

¹⁹ Clearly, the section will oppose Todorova's fallacious claim that only one 'solitary' Balkan travelogue - Smith's *Fighting the Turks in the Balkans* (1908) - 'romanticizes the region' (Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 15). My argument is not only that romanticisation dominated a long period of balkanism (that of the post-1914 era), but that such signifying practices form a strand that exists within all periods of representation.

German ally, to gain further influence over the post-Ottoman territories, a struggle which finally led to Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassination by a Serb nationalist. The descent into European war after the Austrian retaliation was horrifyingly swift. The Great Powers, already divided by a series of alliances into hostile camps, wasted no time in guaranteeing their interests in Europe, and as the war spread all the Balkan states were obliged to enter with either the Central Powers or the Triple Entente, further devastating the region and creating a post-war settlement not entirely profitable in outcome. The war certainly confirmed sovereignty for the whole of the region, though the period was marked by political and economic problems in the 1920s, and by the 1930s royal dictatorships that for many barely improved their wretched pre-war lot.²⁰ Where change was evident, however, a change that the war alliances between western powers and Balkan nations had initiated, was in the sphere of external relations. In contrast to Britain's former allegiance to Ottoman rulers, for example, the war found it obliged to inaugurate closer relations with indigenous states, the political and military leaders of Serbia in particular, as well as to establish improved economic and diplomatic ties with those states after the war. As contemporary representation had indicated, a new space had opened between British nationals and the Balkan peoples, one that reflected the new political relationships of states, but also one that helped produce that relationship, working concurrently, interacting, interpolating power in as definite a way as nineteenth-century travel writing had done.

What I shall be concerned with in this section is the initiation, development and solidification of balkanism's complicity with new forms of pan-European power. Interpreting the region's absorption into the western sphere of influence as ultimately of negative consequence, I shall be questioning whether the fresh paradigm supported or opposed specific patterns of diplomatic and economic interest, both through the complimentary style of cross-cultural representation and through representations of the autobiographical self. I shall begin, in the present chapter, to analyse what will be viewed as the crucial paradigmatic shift of the war years, when Britain, obliged to find allies on the eastern front, developed new-style representations and relations on the ground. After studying a range of war memoirs, and their initiation of a break with past interpretative

²⁰ Detailed accounts of the period can be found in Pavlowitch, *History*, pp. 230-306, and Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, II: Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 134-243.

frameworks, I shall go on in Chapter 4 to study the 1920s and 1930s, the high moment of complimentary representation, when the former restrictions on travel ended, the region opened up to both more casual forms of travel and a new kind of traveller, and produced radically different constructions of self and other. Here, I shall mention the links between these constructions and such late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century currents in literature as Decadence and modernism. At the same time, I shall attempt to discern the implications of both the inter-war concept of the Balkans, especially its more extreme manifestations, and the travellers' original textual concepts of the self, for the political relations between the two poles of Europe.²¹

The major point to be made is that the post-Edwardian paradigm was no 'truer' than the previous denigratory style of representation. Nevertheless, drawing on a comparative judgement often eschewed by discourse theorists, I wish to explore whether complimentary representation marked an improvement on Victorian and imperialist signification, and whether the new coterie of travel writers were working in a mode that challenged the power that outside regimes wielded over south-east Europe.

Having termed the early twentieth-century alterations to balkanism a rupture, a certain qualification needs to be made. In the history of the Balkan concept, there has been nothing so definite as a pure break between the several discursive moments, or *sub-epistemes*, that have marked its transformation. It was with some notoriety that Foucault, in *The Order of Things*, located moments of sudden discontinuity in the human sciences, moments when there emerged, fully formed, a radically divergent framework by which the three disciplines constructed their object. In the Balkan context, this discursive break I regard - less dramatically - as *temporally heightened struggles* between residual and emergent paradigms, a period of extended duration in which a previously marginal cluster of motifs, images and evaluations slowly breach the dominant mode on the way to achieving ascendancy. In this sense, the texts constituting that period of rupture mark only a site of emergence, holding the seed of a new paradigm, but remaining so

²¹ My reference is to the Anglo-American strain of modernism. For a study of this strain in the context of modernism as a whole, see Nicholls's excellent *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (1995).

conditioned by the old that it does not constitute newness in itself. Of the two moments of rupture in balkanism,²² the decade of the 1910s is the best illustration of the point. In a trend properly originating during the Balkan Wars, when a number of travellers began to champion chosen nations, the subordinate framework of complimentary representation became increasingly present in both text and period, overshadowing denigratory representation during the years of war and finally establishing, by the early 1920s, a framework through which the full divergence from traditional balkanism could achieve expression.

It would be more exact to locate the site of emergence not in British travel writing on the Balkans as a whole, but in its specific engagement with Serbia. As I have mentioned, the need to open up a second front against the Central Powers urgently required an ally in the region, and with Bulgaria likely to join with Germany, and Romania and Greece vacillating between the two blocks, Serbia remained the only real option. The war in the east had started badly for the Allies, the armies of Austria and Bulgaria advancing rapidly into Serbia from the north and east, and, in a series of brutal assaults, provoking what became known as the Great Retreat, an extraordinary military evacuation by which the entire Serbian Army withdrew westward in the face of the enemy, crossed Albania, and after regrouping in western Greece, re-entered the country from the south to open a new front. The British participation along this front was twofold. The army itself had been shipped to Thessaloniki, and along with the French offered logistical support for the Serb offensives in Macedonia and southern Serbia, manoeuvres that finally retook the country. Beginning in late 1914, there had also been a surge of British women volunteering for medical work in the region, and who as nurses, surgeons, administrators, orderlies, cooks, even soldiers, achieved such assistance to Serbia that Monica Krippner, the biographer of the volunteer groups, claims '[p]robably no group of women have given so much of themselves under such tremendous odds and emerged so magnificently'.²³ The activity clearly indicated unprecedented collaboration between British nationals and a Balkan nation, the women undergoing for their ally the daily privations of war, the rigours of front-line nursing, the very real danger of typhoid

²² The Cold War era is the other, when over the course of a longer period the trend of Balkans representation took the very opposite course to that of the 1910s. See my Chapter 5.

²³ Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy: Women at War, Serbia 1915-18* (Newton Abbot and London: David & Charles, 1980), p. 13.

and, when the Central Powers overran the British medical bases, enduring either the Great Retreat or continuing to nurse as prisoners of war, experiences which naturally led to close emotional allegiance with the host culture and which did much to initiate the rather special relationship that Britain and Serbia would enjoy for the next eighty years.²⁴ The great divergence in the status of the volunteer to that of the average Victorian traveller had enormous discursive consequence, with the construction of Serbia in the memoirs of the war generation - or the diarists, as I shall call them - entailing an overhaul of traditional representation. The objective was to create an ally now, not a cultural other.²⁵

Of the major tropes that constituted the traditional concept of the Balkans, the most obvious one that needed to go was savagery. The accusations of violence and brutality, which had constructed what one writer called 'the "barbaric Serbs" whom political propaganda has so long vilified',²⁶ were clearly unsuitable for a military ally, and underwent substantial erasure from the text. An example of the conceptualisation that resulted is found in Ellen Chivers Davies's *A Farmer in Serbia* (1916), a memoir of the author's work at various medical bases around the country. The deployment of a new-

²⁴ Equally symbolic of the move away from Victorian aloofness are those British volunteers whose sympathy for Serbia led to marriage, such as Dorothy Brindley (see Krippner, *Ibid.*, p. 210), to residence in the country (see the biography of Flora Sandes in Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids*, p. 170), or whose dedication to their cause led to loss of life, such as Mabel Dearmer, who died of typhoid (see Monica M. Stanley, *My Diary in Serbia, April 1, 1915-Nov. 1, 1915* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1916), pp. 66-9; Mabel St. Clair Stobart, *The Flaming Sword in Serbia and Elsewhere* (London, New York and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), pp. 59-64; and also Stephen Gwynn's 'Memoir' in Mabel Dearmer, *Letters from a Field Hospital* (London: Macmillan, 1916), pp. 1-3. Francesca M. Wilson gives a rather emotive description of the death of an English nurse in *Portraits and Sketches of Serbia* (London: The Swarthmore Press, 1920), pp. 77-81. There were also plenty of extended illnesses amongst the volunteers: for example, see Stanley, *Diary*, p. 91; J. Johnson Abraham, *My Balkan Log* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1922), pp. 214, 297, 300. Female volunteer work in Serbia had predecessors in St. Clair Stobart's and Leila Paget's work in Bulgaria during the Balkan War: see St. Clair Stobart, *Miracles and Adventure: An Autobiography* (London: Rider and Co., 1935), pp. 89-135; and Krippner, *Quality of Mercy*, p. 103.

²⁵ One interesting feature of this creation was the alteration of the nineteenth-century *Servia* to the modern-day *Serbia*. As Fussell says of the former term: 'once the war began that designation for a friendly country wouldn't do - it was too suggestive of *servility*. Sometime between August, 1914, and April, 1915, the name of the country was quietly "raised" by the newspapers to *Serbia*, and *Serbia* it has remained' (Fussell, *Great War*, p. 175).

²⁶ Fortier Jones, *With Serbia into Exile: An American's Adventures with the Army that Cannot Die* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1916), pp. 137-8.

style representation emerges on the very opening page. Recalling her first glimpse of Thessaloniki from the ship, Davies describes how 'the fishing boats with sails as white as a gull's wing dott[ed] the bay,' how 'minarets stood out against a sky as soft as any English April sky, and the creamy buildings with their pinky red roofs melted into the tender green of the hills behind the town.'²⁷ In contrast to Lear's brutal Thessaloniki, this is a domesticated location, prettily-coloured, reminiscent of the homeland, and with a gentleness (all 'soft' and 'tender') that parallels the landscape of the interior. Over the Serbian border, for example, away from the front, Davies finds a country that she 'had no idea [...] was so beautiful'[20], where there not only exists 'beautiful park-like land'[28] but also settlements that are 'very clean and pretty, with nice white houses'[34] full of folk music, dancing and 'gaily dressed peasants'[43] - the typical pastoral signifiers of the forthcoming paradigm. Moreover, the indigenes, suitably for such a homely environment, are themselves homely, 'friendly souls'[43] displaying all the unspoiled, simple virtue so beloved of the natural philosophers; the women are the model of kindness, with their 'sweet smile' and 'beautiful courtesy', their children are 'very sweet and friendly,' and the menfolk, who are 'dears,' and both 'touchingly grateful' and 'passionately fond of children,' once again differ from the hostile natives that Lear claimed to encounter some sixty years earlier.²⁸ Indeed, the final sense is not of a barbarous people to be kept at a distance, but one with whom the traveller can be friends - so much so that Davies bemoans the kind of English reserve that foregoes companionship with 'this so-called 'savage' nation'[143]. She writes:

There is nothing more delightful than the instincts of Serbian hospitality, and it is such a pity that people will insist - so many of them at least - on carrying English ideas about with them, instead of being willing to adapt themselves a little more readily to the manners and customs of the country. Why carry insularity like a large wet blanket around with one? [28]

Despite Davies's nannyish tone here, and her rather gentrified idiom throughout, one finds in her text an attempt to break away from Englishness and English cultural norms which, during times of peace, facilitated a 'pleasant picnic life'[33] amongst the Serbians

²⁷ Ellen Chivers Davies, *A Farmer in Serbia* (London: Methuen, 1916), p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 79, 44, 142, 73, 96; see also pp. 17-8, 20, 23, 43, 50, 64-9, 95, 141, 166, 183-90, 206-7.

rather than perilous adventure. This emphasis on local courtesy, and the friendship between the two peoples that resulted, is the dominant trend of the period,²⁹ and one which already suggests huge divergence from the denigratory essentialism of the Victorians and Edwardians. Indeed, with comments like 'the true Serbian peasants are among the most innately courteous people in the world'[76], and '[t]heir instincts are essentially generous and hospitable'[206] if anything the Serbs were essentialised as congenitally virtuous.³⁰

The ease with which such previously savage emblems as landscape and behaviour can be reformulated into the radical opposite (from savagery into security, from hostility into hospitality) is significant, and exemplary of a wide set of mutations that characterise this period of balkanism. What soon emerges from a comparative study of Victorian and Great War texts is the fact that attributes of a cross-cultural discourse - be it sign, register, image - can be as easily deployed to signify the positive side of the binary as the negative, and that the apparently solid signifiers of Victorian balkanism, with their underlying anxiety and loathing, could as easily be invested with respect.³¹ This

²⁹ The evocation of friendliness and hospitality was a staple in the war memoirs, the Serbs being generally considered a 'charming' people with 'a sort of lust for giving' (John Reed, *War in Eastern Europe: Travels through the Balkans in 1915*, new ed. (1916; London: Phoenix, 1994), p. 171; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, p. 113). See also Flora Sandes, *The Autobiography of a Woman Soldier: A Brief Record of Adventure with the Serbian Army, 1916-1919* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, c.1927), pp. 39, 95, 149, 156; Stanley, *Diary*, pp. 37, 40; Dearmer, *Letters*, pp. 98, 109-10, 134; W. Lyon Blease, 'The Escape of the Three', in James Berry, et al, *The Story of a Red Cross Unit in Serbia* (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1916), p. 226; Blease, 'The Serb People As We Knew Them', in *Ibid.*, pp. 125-8; Reed, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 12, 43; Abraham, *Balkan Log*, 274-6. Ironically, such qualities were also found in the Bulgar: see St. Clair Stobart, *Miracles*, pp. 117, 123, 125, 135. I discuss British-Serb friendship below: see my pp. 155-6.

³⁰ See also Davies, *Farmer*, pp. 28, 93, 143.

³¹ An example of my point is Durham's treatment of the Balkan range itself, once the sign of the inhospitable nature of the peninsula, and now a symbol of security from invading factions (see Durham, *Tribal Origins*, p. 15). Nora Alexander, Ruth Alexander and St. Clair Stobart all relate that mud and bad road conditions, once indicating the region's ability to inconvenience, were also considered security against rapid advances of enemy troops (Alexander, *Wanderings in Yugoslavia* (London: Skeffington and Son, 1936), p. 201; and Alexander, *Stones, Hilltops and the Sea: Some Yugo-slavian Impressions* (London: Alston Rivers, 1929), p. 179; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 42). Similarly, the kind of architectural disorder Brown found in Shkodër is now the welcome absence of 'standardization' (Lovett Fielding Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage: Wanderings through Yugoslavia* (London: Duckworth, 1938), p. 42; asking the traveller questions is now politeness, not rudeness (Philip Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance* (London: Collins, 1937), p. 32); and the indigenous refusal to issue directions is now a '[s]uperb' indifference to detail (Henry Baerlein, *Bessarabia and Beyond* (London: Methuen, 1935), p. 25).

slipperiness of signification, indicative of interpretative preference rather than of any inherent property of the environment, is seen in the post-1914 treatment of several traditional ingredients of Balkan savagery, above all the inherent tendency towards violence. When not eradicated from the text, the supposed fighting instinct is shorn of its negative connotations, and rescripted as a sort of wholesome bravery, Davies transforming the Serbs, for instance, from a people with a negative 'reputation for fierce fighting'[23] into 'one of the finest races of fighters in the world'[24], entering the battle 'like lions, careless of death or the most terrible of wounds, [and] following their leaders with the most cheerful courage of heroes'[72]. The violence is still there, but barbarity is reformulated as heroism, a constant both in Davies and other memoirs of the times.³² In a similar way, the imputed ability to endure pain, another feature of the savage quality of the Balkan peoples, was no longer a sign of their lower biological constitution, as so many of the Victorians had explained it, but once again proof of exemplary heroism. This emerges in Davies during her descriptions of hospital work, where the Serb patients, despite their soft natures, are not only 'wonderfully patient and bear pain like heroes'[30], but also 'after their hurts had been dressed rushed back to the trenches to fight again'[125]. As might be discerned in such an image, a third element of the imputed savagery, that of clannishness or tribalism, was also undergoing rapid revision. Far from being explained by reference to out-moded social structures, the demonstration of fighting ability and the resolute stand against an enemy now becomes evidence of an evolved national sentiment, an admirably patriotic determination to protect nationhood, of 'upholding the honour and freedom of Serbia to the bitter end.'³³ These three elements

³² Davies also says that 'the army is the people and every man is a born soldier', and that 'with his own officer above him the Serb soldier is hard to beat - brave and cheery, careless of death and capable of great endurance'[71]. At the same time, the Serb doctors, particularly in the fight against typhus, 'had worked and died like heroes'[25] and the women she meets around have a 'higher heroism'[207]. For further references to bravery and endurance, see St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 172, 290, 293-4, 308-9; Stanley, *Diary*, pp. 58-9, 102, 113; Leila Paget, *With Our Serbian Allies: Second Report* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1916), pp. 22, 31-2, 79-80, 99-100, 102; Caroline Matthews, *Experiences of a Woman Doctor in Serbia* (London: Mills and Boon, 1916), pp. 31-2, 82, 108; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 136; L.F. Waring, *Serbia* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1917), pp. 21, 35, 215-6; E.P. Stebbing, *At the Serbian Front in Macedonia* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1917), pp. 154-5, 162, 175, 177-8, 245.

³³ Davies, *Farmer*, p. 72. Evocation of a love of personal freedom was linked to this, with Davies, for example, describing the Serbs as having 'an independent glance and the fine free carriage of a mountain people'[83].

of Balkan savagery, recreated as heroism, fortitude and a developed sense of patriotism, were not uncoincidentally the markers of an excellent military ally. In a language designed to appeal to a readership avid for good news from the eastern front, these Serbs were 'every inch *men*'[158], a nation which, when facing an enemy, was 'lively as a cricket and full of beans'[146].

With savagery erased, and violence no longer problematic, it should come as no surprise to find the trope of discord also substituted in the war memoir, as its treatment of tribalism would indicate. In the renegotiation of Serbian mores, it was common for British relief workers, soldiers, transport officers and administrators to perceive in their surroundings both a pleasing consonance in the wider environment, finding clean, orderly settlements set in harmonious landscapes, and amity within human society (in family, community and nation, and between genders and ethnic groups). The best introduction to the feature is the war generation's treatment of the crowd scene, a major staple of British travel writing. As another instance of the slippery nature of balkanist imagery, the *trompe l'oeil* portrait of the foreign street, whereby the greatest multiplicity of ethnicities, trades, classes and religious persuasions could be drawn into one textual moment, was no longer a signifier of the frenzied turmoil found abroad, but of the real possibility of accord. A good illustration comes in *At the Serbian Front* (1917) by E.P. Stebbing, a transport officer attached to a British hospital unit in Macedonia. Like many of his comrades, Stebbing often finds himself at 'Flocca's', the most popular cafe in Thessaloniki's harbour district, and a major meeting point for the foreign soldiers then flooding Macedonia. 'To sit at Flocca's', he enthuses,

was an education in itself, and few of those there, very few, could have accurately described the nationality and uniforms of the many hundreds of warriors gathered festively around those little tables. French, Russians and Cossaks, Italians, British, Serbian, French colonials, Sinegalese, Zouaves, and men from Madagascar - Indians, Annanese, Albanians, Macedonians and Greeks, all [...] fraternised together in one great community of brotherhood, bound by the identity of their present interests, the great adventure of war. And if it proved difficult to pick out the nationalities of the fighting races as they mingled before one, as difficult was it to distinguish with any certainty the uniforms of [...] the obscurer nationalities.³⁴

³⁴ Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 32.

Despite its clear retention of national hierarchy (between the colonial troops and their imperial masters, and between 'the obscurer nationalities' and western Europeans), the passage forms a considerable rewrite of the traditional Balkan concept. In this version, the peninsula becomes characterised more by an ability to create 'community' and 'brotherhood' than to fragment or *balkanise*, a place where 'fighting men of a dozen or more nationalities' - a sure sign of trouble in nineteenth-century travelogues - can feel 'at their ease, enjoying the period of relaxation, drinking an infinite variety of drinks, smoking cigarettes for the most part, and [...] hailing each other with the warmth of the soldier on active service'.³⁵ Again, the notion of the region as 'meeting place of [...] armies',³⁶ in another instance of the indiscriminacy of balkanist signification, now becomes a positive image of Balkan nationalities at peace with the western powers, and at ease amongst themselves. This location of regional order and the possibilities of unity naturally had significance for the military concerns of the day. As part of the way Serbia was being hastily rescripted for wartime consumption, its army was no longer the rag-tag mob that inhabited many a Victorian journal, but a competent fighting unit exhibiting 'splendid discipline', 'real comradeship', 'perfect behavior', and whose manoeuvres always occurred 'in good order'.³⁷

This new sense of order becomes more noteworthy in the context of Serbian society as a whole, where the British had begun replacing the tropes of chaos and

³⁵ Ibid., p. 31. See also his comment on 'nationalities stiting [sic] cheek by jowl without distinction' [36]. In the later Yugoslavian context, Koester mentions an 'amity', a 'resolving of [...] various contrasts' (Hans Koester, *Jugoslavia: Land of Promise* (London: Robert Hale, 1937), pp. 32, 16). For other observations of unity in the region, see Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 197; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 53; Reed, *Eastern Europe*, p. 28; Douglas Walshe, *With the Serbs in Macedonia* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1920), pp. 8-9; Francesca M. Wilson, *In the Margins of Chaos: Recollections of Relief Work in and between the Three Wars* (London: John Murray, 1944), pp. 250-1; Edwards, *Wayfarer in Yugoslavia* (London: Methuen, 1939), pp. 13, 93, 125; Edwards, *Pilgrimage*, p. 33; Henry Baerlein, *Travels Without a Passport: Second Series* (London: Frederick Muller, 1942), p. 73; Baerlein, *The Caravan Rolls On* (London: Frederick Muller, 1944), p. 76; David Footman, *Balkan Holiday* (London: Heinemann, 1935), p. 256.

³⁶ Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 31.

³⁷ See Alice and Claude Askew, *The Stricken Land: Serbia As We Saw It* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1916), p. 242; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, p. 70; Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 313; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 64. For further examples in kind, see Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 45; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 72, Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, p. 166, and Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 164, 187, 247, 344-5; Abraham, *Balkan Log*, p. 163; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 235.

backwardness with the signs of a complex, evolved, and elaborately articulated culture. Although this would become more developed in the 1930s, Francesca Wilson's thoughtful, at times touching recollections of the country during wartime, published as *Portraits and Sketches of Serbia* (1920) and *In the Margins of Chaos* (1944), give some idea of the style of representation involved. Significantly, Wilson chooses to open her first memoir with an account of the 'Serbian' language. In clear contrast to the Victorian, who usually acknowledged the Balkan languages only in order to disparage them, Wilson's account is of a well developed linguistic order, one exhibiting not only an 'appallingly complex' grammar, with its intricate variety of cases and plural forms, but also a 'rich' diction; in terms of familial relations, for example, 'Serbian' has a wide range of terms for 'uncles and aunts and cousins', and six variants on the English 'sister-in-law'.³⁸ Such an acknowledgement of linguistic depth was also a fundamental acknowledgement of, and an introduction to, the kind of elaborate structure that Wilson also perceives in the non-linguistic world. Here was a family unit, to continue the theme, transformed from the formlessness of nineteenth-century depiction into - as she puts it - a complex product of 'relatives so often liv[ing] together in a large patriarchal family', with a definite hierarchy and strict propriety about which '[t]he Serb tolerates no misunderstanding'.³⁹ At the same time, the family was beset by a wider set of social and cultural mores: in all, the two books make mention of a convoluted regime of hospitality, wedding and funeral customs, musical traditions, superstitions, mythologies, historical traditions and a calendar full of sacred days that needed to be rigidly observed (the working week arranged according to both orthodox and pagan celebrations), all of which, when added to the burgeoning legal, political and educational systems, made Balkan village life appear far more oppressive than anything pertaining at home.⁴⁰ This was, as Wilson neatly summarises, a 'country [...] steeped for centuries in an elaborate

³⁸ Wilson, *Portraits*, p. 15. Although Wilson also claims that the language is 'poverty stricken'[15] in other areas of diction, and even terms 'Serbian' a '[b]arbarous' tongue, the emphasis is on its 'beauty', 'music and sweetness'[16-7].

³⁹ Ibid., p. 15. For language and family relationships, see also Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 21, 76.

⁴⁰ For hospitality, see *Margins of Chaos*, p. 42; for funeral customs, see *Portraits*, p. 80; for musical traditions, see *Margins of Chaos*, p. 42; for superstitions, see *Portraits*, pp. 14, 107; for pagan and orthodox celebrations, see *Portraits*, p. 14 and *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 20-23; and for sketches of legal, political and educational systems respectively, see *Portraits*, pp. 70, 85-91, 45-57.

and articulate culture'.⁴¹ Such an emphasis on order become more developed, and had wider reference to all Balkan regions, in the work of the 1920s and 1930s. Reflecting travellers' increasing drift into a kind of amateur ethnology, Durham's later studies of the Albanian blood feud, Philip Thornton's portrait of Balkan folk traditions or George Sava's sketch of rural Bulgaria,⁴² all indicate harmony and regulation rather than cultural chaos.

This sense of ordered complexity also did something to alter the understanding of the next balkanist trope, that of cultural backwardness. Here, it was not so much that backwardness disappeared from the work of the war generation (Wilson's Serbia, for example, being very much an undeveloped one), but simply that - in the slippery manner of these things - backwardness was assigned a very different value in the text, undergoing the same change of emphasis, or shift in interpretative preference, as those markers of mud, feuds, folk dances and dreary villages by which it had traditionally been constructed. In this shuffling of signification, two major strands can be identified. On the one hand, social conditions in the Balkans were no longer viewed as cultural deficiency, but as plenitude: the retention of all the primitive virtue that modernity seemed to have eradicated in the West. In this way, backwardness was often rescripted as *simplicity*,⁴³ a signifier of decent, vigorous moral tradition which existed somewhat uneasily with coincident representations of a complex indigenous culture. So Wilson, as a typical example, extols what she sees as the 'primeval innocence' of these 'simple people', their

⁴¹ Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 24.

⁴² Durham, *Tribal Origins*, pp. 64-76; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen* (London: Collins, 1939), pp. 71, 204-28, 296; Sava, *Donkey Serenade: Travels in Bulgaria*, rpt. ed. (1940; London: Travel Book Club, 1941), pp. 119, 128-32, 242-4. On the Albanians, formerly seen as more chaotic than most, Rose Wilder Lane wrote that '[t]he endless complexities of the laws of these supposedly lawless people were too much for me' and Durham wrote that 'there is perhaps no other people in Europe so much under the tyranny of laws' (Lane, *The Peaks of Shala: Being a Record of Certain Wanderings Among the Hill-Tribes of Albania* (London and Sydney: Chapman and Dodd, 1922), pp. 100-1; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 41. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 183; 224, 295; Hebe Spaul, *Rumania* (London: A. and C. Black, 1930), pp. 26-7; Lucy M.J. Garnett, *Balkan Home-Life* (London: Methuen, 1917), pp. 4, 18-20, 40, 58; Abraham, *Balkan Log*, p. 111; D.J. Hall, *Romanian Furrow* (London: Methuen, 1933), pp. 22, 29-31; Blease, 'The Serb People', pp. 128-9; Geoffrey Rhodes, *Dalmatia: The New Riviera* (London: Stanley Paul, 1931), pp. 239-45.

⁴³ See for example, Margaret Loughborough's portrait of an old Romanian woman, who 'lives in a simplicity that we hardly knew existed in this century', indicates a condition not of backwardness but of pastoral joy (Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939), p. 37.

spontaneity, kindness, faith and living relationship to nature which, she bemoans to her readers, 'civilisation has lost to us.'⁴⁴ The point is taken up by Fortier Jones, an American relief worker who took part in the gruelling retreat across Albania with the Serbian army. Crystallising the thoughts of most contemporaries, and in contrast to the 'cynical' 'heartlessness' he finds in modern Englishmen, Jones depicts Serbia as an "unspoiled population of agricultural peasants" in whom the war brings out the qualities of fortitude, bravery, dignity, selflessness, aristocratic refinement, and such a developed sense of ethical responsibility that, though 'childlike' in some ways, they seem to surpass the West in all the tenets of western humanism.⁴⁵ When heeding the noble qualities of embattled Serbia, the presence of such uncivilised attributes as muddy roads and filthy *khans* become an utter irrelevancy. As he argues:

Filth is no criterion by which to judge nations who have faced what the Balkan nations have. It is like criticizing Milton for the lack of a manicurist [...]. You cannot measure the potentialities of a people by their lack of smart *fiacres* or the abundance of vermin in their inns any more than you can fairly revile them because, with world dramas on every side, as yet the cinematograph has failed to bring them the "Perils of Pauline." After a stay of a fortnight you cannot convincingly impugn the honor, kindness, pride, and hospitality of a people in whom for a generation English, American, French, and German travel-writers have praised these qualities almost without exceptions.⁴⁶

Jones's point about the new representational dominant in the final line, along with his apparent faith in travel writing as document, I shall pick up below. The main feature here is his direct engagement with the tenets of traditional balkanism: squalor, vermin, conflict, hard journeying, the very signifiers of the Victorian adventure, and the very terms by which the nineteenth century had constructed an antithetical Europe of horror and dread, are eclipsed by merits which the West - decadently characterised by manicure and cinema - will have to struggle hard to live up to. Importantly, Jones's polemical engagement is delivered in a very different register. In place of the amusement and

⁴⁴ See Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 46, 88, 107. For examples of spontaneity, kindness, faith and closeness to nature, see pp. 50, 103, 26, 107.

⁴⁵ Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, pp. 309, 30, 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11.

absurdity that Victorians like Brown had brought to the region, the new generation's passionate defence of Balkan cultures emerges via earnestness, respect, a polemical vigour and - by the late 1920s - a sort of poetic awe.

On the other hand, and seemingly unaware of the irony of the position, 'Balkan backwardness' was equally approvingly constructed as progress in a latent form. As the passage from Jones might suggest, the Serbian national character was believed to contain the vital seed of progress: that desire and ability to facilitate modernity which had formerly been held back by factors beyond the control of indigenous populations - specifically, centuries of foreign domination - but which was now ready to flourish. Thus it is that Jones elsewhere portrays a very 'up-to-date' Belgrade, Waring looks forward to the 'brilliant morrow' of the race, and Alice and Claude Askew, writing in the midst of the neediness and confusion of the Great Retreat, confidently claim that 'Serbia herself would remedy [...] need when peace was restored to the land.'⁴⁷ The latter couple, a husband and wife team attached to the First British Field Hospital, illustrate just how much of this supposed progressiveness was textual construct. Their portrait of Skopje, capital of a Macedonia almost unanimously considered Serbian by the diarists, is an example in kind. 'Let us try to picture it', they begin:

We know the tortuous, narrow streets, horribly paved with rough cobbles, which, three years ago, were roofed over according to the Turkish fashion of the bazaar; we know the unpretentious modern houses and cafes that line the river banks; we know the lack of good hotel accommodation, of drainage, of lighting, of this and that that go to fulfil present-day ideas of comfort; yet none of these things can prevent our imagination dwelling upon the Skoplje of to-morrow, a Skoplje restored, in great measure, to its ancient fame and beauty. [72-3]

There is no empirical truth one can locate in the Askews's portrait of the past, or in their vision of the future. What 'we know' of Skopje is simply the staple range of primitive, disorderly urban signifiers handed down through generations of travellers for use on the Balkan object, a discursive construct which marks off the town from the urban environments of the West (or 'present-day ideas' as the Askews temporally situate their

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 31; Waring, *Serbia*, p. 163; Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 80.

cultural context), and against which the authors merely posit a western ideal of civic development: the 'Skoplje of to-morrow', they claim, will be 'a city of broad boulevards and handsome buildings, as well as an harmonious blending of East and West'[73]. In order to justify their confidence in the future, writers clearly needed some supporting evidence, and - as if from nowhere - there entered the constructed landscape the university graduates required to inaugurate progress and the highly evolved legal, governmental and educational systems required to regulate it. For the Askews, the passing of the old is to be regretted,⁴⁸ but the new order will prevail.

In summary, here was a paradigm that seemed to differ greatly from Victorian balkanism. From a centuries-old representational tradition centred on chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation, the diarists had, in no time at all, transformed the signifying practice to its very opposite, to order, simplicity (or progressiveness), courtesy and - in those texts in which the trace of obfuscation was not simply eradicated - a form of real integrity, Donald C. Norris calling the Serbs, for example, 'a sturdy, honest race'.⁴⁹ Yet as I have attempted to show, this overhaul of discursive practice did not indicate straightforward departure from traditional conceptualisation. The fact is that the Balkans were still the fundamentally primitive and heterogeneous collection of ethnicities that the Victorians had found, as if both periods were finally working from the same cultural perspective, and agreeing on the region's essential elements, only diverging in the value and meaning which they chose to place upon them. In this sense, the representation that emerged in the war was only a reordering of old formulations, not a break from them, and certainly did not get any closer to some transcendental perspective on the region. The Balkans (that cluster of culturally specific images and assessments) has always formed a kind of absent centre around which the signifying practice of western observers, with its varied, competing claims, circulates. There is no sense that the diarist had achieved some viewpoint from outside this practice.

The point can be underlined by noting just how much of the new balkanism was a projection onto Serbia of the personal and political values that the British held most dear about themselves. Complimentary representation was, quite simply, a rescripting of the Balkans in Britain's own self-image. If one looks back through the principal motifs of the

⁴⁸ See, for example, Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 94.

⁴⁹ Norris, 'Impressions of the Scout', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 64.

emerging paradigm, one soon discovers that this particular Balkan nation was being credited with all the spurious, profoundly conservative ideals which crystallised during the Enlightenment, ideals which, as one commentator put it, may have formed 'daring, innovative thought' in the western Europe of the eighteenth century, but which were soon 'to become the stock props of the established order of the nineteenth.'⁵⁰ The qualities perceived as latent or existent within the Serbia of the 1910s (the toleration, equality, natural virtue, the emphasis on education and personal and material improvement) were the Lockian-inspired notions of social reconstruction and moral value that Hampson, for one, locates behind much Enlightenment thinking,⁵¹ and which seemed to draw the new, united, post-colonial Serbia into the same age of rationality and freedom that the *philosophes* sensed in their own day. In short, instead of rampant social chaos, with 'cut-throats and brigands', one had the Enlightenment attributes of 'reason, civilisation and progress', and 'stability in state and society.'⁵² At the same time, the primitive virtues of the country, shorn of any connection to the Rousseau strand of the Enlightenment, indicate a sort of Englishness in embryo. There should have been something awfully familiar about their characterisation of Serbians to anyone familiar with constructions of the self in Victorian autobiography, or indeed with constructions of 'the British Tommy' in the war writings. When one finds the Serbian termed 'the salt of the earth', an 'ever-friendly' though 'phlegmatic individual', '[d]emocratic' but with 'quite as much bull-dog in him as in us', and summarised as 'intelligent and imaginative; impressionable to new ideas; warm-hearted, gay, with a keen sense of humour; brave as soldiers, courageous as citizens; responsive to the best within reach, whilst aiming at ideals possibly beyond reach,'⁵³ one finds Englishness underlying an idealisation of the Balkans quite as effectively as it had once underlain their denigration. It also explains

⁵⁰ Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 75. As Porter goes on, 'The brave new Enlightenment sciences of man [...] were soon to provide excellent ideological fodder for governments eager to explain why capitalist relations were immutable and ineluctable, why poverty was the poor's own fault'[75]. And in conclusion he states, 'We remain today the children of the Enlightenment', 'still trying to solve the problems of the modern, urban industrial society to which the Enlightenment was midwife'[75].

⁵¹ See Hampson, *Enlightenment*, p. 39.

⁵² Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 2; Porter, *Enlightenment*, p. 9; and Outram, *Enlightenment*, p. 3.

⁵³ Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 103, 57; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 45; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 237, 143; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 294.

why the war memoirs still were patronising: this was Englishness, or England, in miniature, not Englishness itself.

The rescripting of a Balkan culture to reflect the codes of the homeland was pursued with quite as much determination as its othering had been in the nineteenth century. In fact, mirroring the conceptual overlap between the two periods, the war generation was not adverse to borrowing many of the strategies that had so effectively established and propagated the paradigm they were writing against. So the racialising tendencies of Victorian balkanism, for example, still inform the representations of the First World War, the memoirs merely exchanging formerly negative essentialisation for a notion of social collectivity that was wholly positive. It was in this spirit that Davies, as we have seen, considers Serbia a nation of 'innate gentlemen', St. Clair Stobart considers 'innate [...] her power of sacrificing herself for ideals', and even Jan Gordon, untypically hostile to the Serbians, claims that 'the instinct for poetry is inborn in them.'⁵⁴ In a similar way, the strategy of discursive repetition, that framework of citation and reference through which Victorians gained legitimacy for articulation itself derived from that framework, was not eschewed in the period, merely reconstituted to accommodate the emergent paradigm. Thus, the vast tradition of denigratory, accusatory, antagonistic representation, though dominating balkanism right up until 1914, was now largely eradicated, as writers choose to cite only those predecessors - Gardner Wilkinson, Thomas Jackson, Arthur Evans - who had commended the region.⁵⁵ Naturally, the result

⁵⁴ Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, p. 93; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 310; Gordon, *A Balkan Freebooter: Being the True Exploits of the Serbian Outlaw and Comitaj Petko Moritch, told by Him to the Author and Set into English* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1916), p. xi. See also Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 28, 76, 143, 206; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 122. The things spread out to innate virtue in other Balkan regions: see the portrayal of Slavic people as a whole in Alexander, *Stones*, p. 24; and Edwards, *Pilgrimage*, p. 171; the peasants of Dalmatia in Captain O'Doneven, *A Skillet of the Balkans* (Lymington: Charles T. King, 1932), pp. 111-2; the Montenegrins in Lena A. Yovitchitch, *Yugoslavia* (London: A. and C. Black, 1928), p. 83, and Paul Edmonds, *To the Land of the Eagle: Travels in Montenegro and Albania* (London: Routledge; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1927), p. 46; the Bosnians in Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 23, 51; the Bulgarians in Garnett, *Balkan Home-Life*, pp. 190-1; and the Romanians in Spaull, *Rumania*, p. 3; and Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 21; Walter Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle: Adventures with a Fiddle in Hungary and Roumania*, new ed. (1933; London: John Murray, 1935), p. 275; E.O. Hoppé, *In Gipsy Camp and Royal Palace: Wanderings in Rumania* (London: Methuen, 1924), pp. 117, 148, 151.

⁵⁵ For example, see Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 21, 25, 32, 246; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 70, 97-8, 130, 248; Oona Ball, *Dalmatia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932), pp. 7, 187-99; Tyndale and Brown, *Dalmatia*, pp. v-vi; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 181. Citation included 'authorities' of non-British extraction, some even

of the technique - of picking from past texts only those qualities one wishes to find during the journey - was to give their synchronically unified representations a wholly fabricated diachronic depth. There were admittedly times when denigrations of Serbia, particularly by more contemporary commentators, were brought in. But these were decried with such vehemence that they tended to act as a dramatic foil to authorial viewpoint. Fortier Jones's fury at the critics of Serbia, cited above, is one example, a writer who went on to unequivocally denounce the 'picturesque slanders' of 'the quick-trip journalist' which 'vilif[ied] a heroic people at the moment of their crucifixion'.⁵⁶ F. May Dickinson Berry, the wife of the head of the Anglo-Serbian Hospital, is as defiant, though rather more restrained, in her denunciation. For instance, she mentions two female medics who, attracted by her urgent call for personnel, had decided to join the unit until

a letter was received from an English medical student working in Serbia, giving such a terrible description of the country, as being utterly disorganised, and so given up to violence and immorality, that it was unsafe for a woman to be there; this so alarmed the parents of the young ladies that they cried off. I mention this incident because it was the first instance we had of what we were perpetually encountering afterwards, absolutely unfounded rumours with circumstantial details on apparently excellent authority.⁵⁷

This direct undermining of all that the Victorians took for granted - disorganisation, violence, immorality - was not limited to Jones and Berry, but was part of the period's extensive writing against preconceptions,⁵⁸ one that often created the impression - to cite

indigenous to the Balkans. It also included the surreptitious use of positive passages from texts which were generally denigratory: see Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 91.

⁵⁶ Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, pp. 310, 326, 95. For other engagements with denigratory representation, see pp. 88-90, 240, 308-13. Jones also mentions an English Colonel who claimed that the refugees ravaged by the war, then streaming south to escape the Austrian advance, are not refugees at all, but simply typical natives who 'had infested the mountains in that same state of starvation "for ten thousand years more or less"' [120].

⁵⁷ F. May Dickinson Berry, 'The Formation of the Unit', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ For example, see Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 2, 102, 173; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 102, 231, 247, 262, 270; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, pp. 122-3; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 143, 248; Blease, 'The Serb People', pp. 117-8; Blease, 'The Summer Months', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 168; Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 27-8, 30-3, 147; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 23, 23, 86, 265-6. Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 11, 99. In the last example, Wilson is faced with criticism of a booklet she had

Berry's belief about the wider region - that 'everybody who had travelled in those countries [...] loved their Slav inhabitants and were always ready to visit them again.'⁵⁹ What one is witnessing in such an extraordinary rewrite of the record are the discreet contours of a new paradigm in construction, a generation of balkanists reshuffling their discursive material, reorganising their assessments, choosing their forebears, reviewing their techniques, establishing their pattern of omissions, errors, prejudices, oversights, choices, and mistaking that pattern for empirical knowledge.

The discursive strategies which the war diarists shared with their forebears were enhanced by one original technique. At points in the memoirs, the negative qualities of the region that authors might have met were not concealed, but accepted into the text, and then diminished in significance by some form of excuse. One method was to locate all the evils commonly found in the region either firmly in the past, or at least on the verge of extinction. In this way, Yovitchitch says that instances of banditry in 'Old Serbia' are now 'few and far between', the Askews believe backwardness will be ended 'when peace is once more restored to the land', and Walshe claims that, after the Serbians' achievement in the war, '[n]o longer can they be thought of as ignorant, superstitious peasants.'⁶⁰ Another means of excusing Serbia was to represent its defects as the shortcoming of any human society rather than specifically Balkan failings: so that things like troublesome crowds, bad food, dirtiness, poor manners, barbarity, lack of

written on the Serbs that 'on the one hand [she] was romantic about them, and on the other spoke of them in a [...] superior way', a criticism certainly germane for the period. Writing against preconceptions continued after the war - 'Curious notions about the Balkans are rife in this island of ours', bewailed Theodora Benson (in *The Unambitious Journey* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935), p. 5). See also, Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 15-6, 86-7, 214; Lane and Helen Dore Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia: Paris to Albania by Model T Ford*, William Holtz, ed. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1983), p. 86; John Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo* (London: George Newnes, c.1931), pp. 104-6, 160-1, 168-70; Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 149, 173-85; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 194-5; Derek Patmore, *Invitation to Roumania* (London: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 123, 130; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 2, 20, 71, 131, 222-3; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 29, 180, 207.

⁵⁹ F. May Dickinson Berry, 'The Formation of the Unit', p. 10. Such creation of a non-existent pattern of positive response towards Serbia is repeated in kind by Geoffrey Rhodes, who alleges that '[t]he happy home-life of the Montenegrins is proverbial' (Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, p. 153), and by Archibald Forman, who asserts 'that every book written about Rumania by Englishmen for the last hundred years' makes mention of 'its kindly peasantry' (Forman, *Rumania through a Windscreen* (London: Sampson Low, Marsden and Co., c.1938), p. 166).

⁶⁰ Lena A. Yovitchitch, *Pages from Here and There in Serbia* (Belgrade: S.B. Cvijanovich, 1926), p. 130; Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 73; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 247.

spirituality, political iniquity, militarism, lazy and unkempt soldiery, to mention but a few, are now not so much Balkan as European-wide deficiencies.⁶¹ Similarly, backwardness, military barbarity, the breakdown of civilised values and the lack of solid information, amongst other formerly Balkan signifiers, are produced less as an evocation of place than simply as a part and parcel of war.⁶² Finally, as if to clinch things, there was the blame placed on the heritage of colonial mismanagement, as Matthews does for Serbian callousness and mendacity, Waring does for the nation's lack of social development, and the Askews do for both rural poverty in Macedonia and the rough and ready attitude to law in Serbia.⁶³ I would not argue that at times these writers do not make a good point. Contextualisation of the Serbian crisis in the contemporary conditions of the continent, and in the historical legacy of imperial rule, was a valid postcolonial view that challenged the Victorian notion of congenital origin for all Balkan imperfection. But attempting to source the problem always slightly elsewhere from the Serbian here and now seems no less transparent in motive. Indeed, there seems to have been no iniquity that was not somehow absolved by some wild claim or other, a feat exemplified by Wilson's comment that the disinclination of the modern Montenegrin male to any agricultural work whatsoever was a natural, and wholly excusable result of the race's five centuries of warrior status.⁶⁴

⁶¹ For an instance of the vexatious crowd, see Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 297; for bad food, see Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 207; for dirtiness, see A. Helen Boyle, 'The Out Patients', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 146; for poor manners, see Stanley, *My Diary in Serbia*, p. 98; for barbarity, see St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 192; for lack of spirituality, see *Ibid.*, p. 190, and Albert Barker, *Memories of Macedonia* (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, c.1917), p. 28; for political iniquity, see Waring, *Serbia*, p. 170; for militarism, see Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 231; and for lazy and unkempt soldiery, see Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 45, 115, and Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 233.

⁶² For the blaming on the war of backwardness, see the Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 46, 100, 150, 211; of barbarity, see Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 225, and Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 312; of the loss of civilised values, see Jones, *Ibid.*, p. 207, and Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 84; and of the lack of information, see Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 305. See also Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, p. 25; Wilson, *Portraits*, p. 5; Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 265-6; F. May Dickinson Berry, 'Austrian Prisoners' in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 95.

⁶³ Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 39, 54-5; Waring, *Serbia*, p. 71; the Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 46-7, 171.

⁶⁴ Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 91.

The result of this reshuffling of knowledge formation was, as I hope has become clear, a deep unsettling of the binarist understanding of continental Europe, and one that was coterminous with a vital shift in power relations. The positive essentialisation of Serbia, with a distinct, albeit rudimentary, form of enlightened Englishness, marked a break from the projection onto the Balkans of the darker side of western culture, and the undermining, or at least the questioning, of the old self/other dichotomy that for the best part of a century had reproduced the Balkans as a place for conquest and control.⁶⁵ When placed in the context of the extreme denigration of earlier periods, the speed with which an established representational paradigm, its accumulated motifs and evaluations becoming rapidly outmoded, could be rejected, dismantled, and utterly brushed aside in written record was remarkable in the extreme. And there is a sense in which it could not have been otherwise. What was needed in the charged months of 1915 was a style of discourse which not only responded to altered political realities but was also productive of those realities, a swift remoulding of both opinion at home and diplomatic allegiance abroad, and the war memoirs - 'cheap and easily accessible'⁶⁶ - supplied that need. Trickling out in 1915, and reaching a flood by 1916, the textual sources of knowledge on Serbia elevated it into a complex, reliant, independent, 'plucky little nation'⁶⁷ far more germane to the modern requirements of power.

The awarding of status to the Balkan nation naturally involved - at least on the level of textual representation - a reduction of the traditional British authority over the region. Such reduction worked on two interconnecting levels, the first being that of personal relations between the military or medical volunteer and the indigene, an area I touched upon with regard to Davies's work. As perhaps Douglas Walshe reveals most effectively in *With the Serbs in Macedonia* (1920), a journal depicting his duties on a

⁶⁵ Interestingly, the popular notion that the Balkans were somehow the cause of the First World War, which informed much post-Cold War commentary, did not exist amongst any of the writers under study in this chapter. Norris's idea that balkanism 'compacts a culturally varied territory into a threatening unity which [...] releases [the Great Powers] of the responsibility for the origins of the First World War' (Norris, *Balkan Myth*, p. 11) is not true for British travellers of the 1914-1989 period. Other commentators may have been different. For example, Harold Spender, in *The Cauldron of Europe* (1925) wrote: 'The Balkans remain an open question at the back door of Europe: a question bristling with menace; noisy with bombs; prickly with bayonets. Out of that cauldron came the Great War: from the same pit may yet come another conflict' (quoted in Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 8).

⁶⁶ Berry's phrase: James Berry, 'Historical Introduction' to Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 23.

British Supply and Ammunition Column, the modern outlook differs markedly from the Victorian enactment of superiority and privilege, commonly entailing a warmth, a friendliness, a new expansiveness to behaviour which - Walshe writes - 'did more to make a new Ally a lifelong friend than all the Allied diplomacy has accomplished.'⁶⁸ Although this is actually about the Greeks, the point can stand for the transport column's amiable approach to the Serbian, much of which is due to the Englishmen's recognition in the other of the self. With the Serbians' very English resilience, nobility, humour and 'dumb' inarticulacy [107], 'there sprang up a mutual and spontaneous relationship between the two nations'[106], so much so that the author claims that '[n]ever before [...] have two nations struck up such a genuine friendship'[236], and that, when thinking of the suffering inflicted by their enemy, he 'wanted to go out and kill and kill'[76]. Indeed, Walshe finds himself so enamoured of the Serbs that he is often inspired to doggerel. One such poem describes, in homely vernacular, how in meeting the Serbians 'us British 'as made a New Chum', continuing,

We sort of just took to each other
 The very first time that we met.
 And now 'e's our friend and our brother,
 A pal we shall never forget!
 We don't know a word of 'is lingo,
 Bar "dobro" (that's Serbo for "good"),
 But with that for a start, and a smile from the 'eart,
 We can all make ourselves understood!
 [...]
 'Ere's to 'im, the soft-'earted blighter!
 'Ere's to 'im, the son of a gun!
 'E's "dobro" as friend and as fighter;
 'E's second to abserloot none!
 'Ere's to 'im, the grinning old cuckoo,
 And the day we pump-'andle 'is 'and,

⁶⁸ Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 42. Wilson claims that 'the real value of foreign relief [...] is as a gesture of international friendship', and that 'foreigners engaged on relief may be more effective ambassadors than those appointed by the State' (Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 268). See also Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 204-5.

An' bid 'im good-bye with a tear in the eye,
On the soil of 'is own native land! [229-30]

The poem reminds one of the popular, sentimental trench verse of purely British camaraderie and fealty that came out of the western front, particularly by the coarse vernacular through which it constructs British-Serb relationships. 'He has a beautiful friendly grin for all things British', as Walshe sums things up, 'and all the British like him as much as he likes them.'⁶⁹ This discovery abroad of a welcoming, ever-friendly population was diametrically opposed to Victorian constructions of otherness, and forms an instance of that equally enduring fantasy in travel writing, that of integration with an alien imagined community, a union freely chosen in inter-war journeys, but here bound up with the enforced loyalties of the war. The British were, in short, not only suffering and dying for their Serbian ally, but learning its language, respecting its cultural codes, serving *under* its command and expressing real love for its people.⁷⁰

There can be no doubt that the personal relations struck up by this new generation, or at least the textual representation of such relations, helped to support relations of military and diplomatic consequence, the other level on which power was seen to shift in the text. Inverting the autobiographical selfhood of pre-war travellers, whose imperious

⁶⁹ Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 234. For further evocation of British-Serbian relations in Walshe, see, *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2, 87, 95-6, 103, 143, 173, 200-1, 229-30, 231, 236, 245, 248. For other instances of the very friendly relation between Serbians and - particularly - the British, see Paget, *Serbian Allies*, pp. v, 51, 99; Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 35-6, 42, 75; Blease, 'The Serb People As We Found Them', in Berry, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 127; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, pp. 165, 189, 192; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. viii; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 75; Abrahams, *Balkan Log*, p. 168; Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 78-81.

⁷⁰ For the study of 'Serbian', see Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 13-7; Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 17, 19-21, 30; Jan and Cora Gordon, *The Luck of the Thirteen: Wanderings and Flight through Montenegro and Serbia* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1916), p. 2; H.D. Napier, *The Experiences of a Military Attaché in the Balkans* (London: Drane's, c.1924), p. 24; Stanley, *Diary*, pp. 17-8; Berry, 'The Formation of the Unit', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 19. For the respecting of cultural codes, see the section on cultural integration in Chapter 4, my pp. 217-220. For the serving under Serbian command, see Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 17; Paget, *Serbian Allies*, p. 51; Sandes, *Autobiography*, pp. 68, 141; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, pp. 117, 182; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 30; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 8, 276; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 16, 292. For expressions of love, see St. Clair Stobart, *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 291-2; Stanley, *Diary*, p. 88; Matthews, *Experiences*, p. 75; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 45, 93, 98, 111, 142, 248; Waring, *Serbia*, p. 215; Berry, 'Formation of the Unit', p. 10; Berry, 'Captivity', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 242.

journeyings had corroborated the British will to dominate, the new respectful, affectionate style of relationship both symbolised and facilitated a political strategy that aimed at a similarly respectful allegiance between the British and Serbian nations. The desperate need, certainly up until the other Balkan nations had chosen sides in the conflict, was to form with Serbia an unthreatening partnership which would maintain its dedication to the eastern front, and encourage the vacillating states to come in on the side of the Entente, something that the open subordination of Serbia was unlikely to encourage. In this, the diarists not only exemplified the possibilities of mutual friendship, but also helped to construct that friendship, their textual representations of personal warmth between themselves and the indigenous population helping to forge what James Berry hoped would be 'a permanent bond between our two races'.⁷¹ This improvement of relations was undoubtedly enhanced by the fact that there was now a rather more pressing source of the savagery, discord and violence that the nation had always found in eastern Europe. The Central Powers had become what the Ottoman Empire and Tsarist Russia were for earlier generations, the locale of threatening otherness, and with that otherness - what one writer termed 'the strange malignancy of German Kultur'⁷² - actually *within* western Europe, the old division between the two halves of the continent was no longer sustainable. 'I realised that Kipling's "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" does not apply to the east and west of Europe', writes St. Clair Stobart, 'The west of Europe must, and will, unite with the Slav portion of the east, as a safeguard

⁷¹ Berry, 'The Journey Home and Concluding Remarks', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 289. For a few amongst numerous instances in kind, see Matthews, *Experiences*, p. 64 '(though beneath an alien Flag, it would be for Britain!'); Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, pp. v, viii, 29, 91, 176; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 24, 90, 204-5; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 58-9, 115, 121, 290; Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 2-3; Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 8, 24. Waring bemoans British ignorance of Serbia in the past, and the belatedness of its assistance to Serbia in the present (Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 147, 235).

⁷² Matthews, *Experiences*, p. 140. Textual construction of the Central Powers, particularly that of Germany, is not my theme, although I recognise its importance to the patterns of cross-cultural representation of the period. For some examples, see Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 96-8, 104, 108; and also Paget, *Serbian Allies*, pp. 71-6; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 110; Berry, 'Historical Introduction' to Berry, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 2; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 89, 125, 138, 212, 235; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 75, 98-9, 214-5; Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 25, 28, 231, 246. So great was the dichotomising of the Allied and Axis powers during the 1910s that Fussell, forgetting the binarism of nineteenth-century imperialism, makes the mistake of claiming that the process of cultural dichotomising is 'traceable [...] to the actualities of the Great War' (Fussell, *Great War*, p. 75).

against the Central Powers of darkness.'⁷³ In the West's binaristic geography, the Balkan peninsula - civil, orderly, honest, the perfect war ally - was being pulled conceptually closer to the positive pole in the binary, and drawn onto the level of the Same.

A fine illustration of the fellowship that was developing between the two nations was the way in which British discursive constructions began to harmonise with Serbia's own highly laudatory self-image. Through the work of indigenous folklorists, philologists, politicians, grammarians and propagandists, Serbia had been busily disseminating patriotic perspectives on its history, development and contemporary ambitions since the early part of the nineteenth century, producing an oppositional strand of representation which, amongst other things, aimed to intervene in the image of otherness allotted it by dominant cultures. Although bringing to it a very English strain of Enlightenment thought, the British concept of Serbia during the period was suddenly very close to indigenous self-representations, if not directly influenced by them. For example, one frequently finds in these texts the wholesale adoption of Serbia's mythopoeic version of its past, a romantic historiography of heroic, dashing princes and glorious *haiduks*, as well as a romanticised vision of its present, of a kindly, courageous people caught up in an 'Homeric', even 'Biblical' tale of strife and sacrifice comparable to Kosovo and 'Calvary.'⁷⁴ As a second remarkable turnaround, such depictions of

⁷³ St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 192. As the quotation suggests, it was not just Serbia but the Balkan region as a whole that was being drawn conceptually closer to western Europe. On Romania, for example, several writers had begun using the same complimentary imagery and political sympathy as that being used on Serbia (see the memoirs of Maude Parkinson, *Twenty Years in Roumania* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921), pp. 6, 25, 171, 239, 251-4; and of Marie, Queen of Roumania (*The Country that I Love: An Exile's Memories* (London: Duckworth, 1925), pp. 9, 18-9, 146). Certainly, Bulgaria's wartime association with the Central Powers, and Albania's hostility to Serbia, brought them a measure of condemnation from the diarists (see Sandes, Wilson, and Davies on Bulgaria, for instance, and Paget, Jones and the Askews on Albania), but this was rarely as bad as that reserved for Germany and Austria, and once again several writers were using the complimentary style of representation (see Paget, *Serbian Allies*, pp. 56-80, 94-98; Napier, *Experiences*, pp. 9, 242-4, 271-5; Garnett, *Balkan Home-Life*, pp. 2-3, 6; Reed, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 153-68; Stobart, *Miracles*, pp. 93, 96, 117, 123, 135).

⁷⁴ Stebbing, p. 142; Wilson, *Portraits*, p. 73; *Ibid.*, p. 26. These kinds of self-images are what Paul James terms 'culturally-transmitted, myth-symbol complexes' through which an ethnic community can construct and apprehend its 'common descent': James, *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community* (London: Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 1996), pp. 15-6. For examples of the British respect for both Serbian historiography and its oral transmission, including usage of Kosovan and Calvary analogies, see Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 34-5; Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 2, 56-61, 143, 193, 200, 358, 362-3; Gordons, *Luck of Thirteen*, pp. 178-9; Paget, *Serbian Allies*, pp. 22, 99; Davica, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 91, 242-248; Abraham, *Balkan Log*, p. 281; Jones, *Serbia into Exile*, pp. 205-6;

Serbia's 'glorious past and [...] heroic present'⁷⁵ now used written and verbal sources that were indigenous, the diarist breaking the previously hermetically sealed cross-cultural discourse, and relinquishing the sole claim to authority, by drawing upon local eye-witness accounts, citing indigenous authorities, even asking Serbian personages to pen their prefaces.⁷⁶ Of course, the results of this collaboration were no truer than the ethnocentric claims of nineteenth-century historiography - it was just that now, when faced with Serbia's own narrative of its history, the British were perfectly willing to suspend disbelief.⁷⁷

F. May Dickinson Berry, 'Captivity' in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 261; Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 21, 86; Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 26, 61-2. The historical works of the period got equally carried away. In *Serbia* (1917), L.F. Waring repeats the self-image of an 'ancient civilisation' [24-5] and an 'advanced' democratic constitution [193], often using contemporary travel writing, 'official' Bosnian newspapers [246] and even Serbia legend as source material; '[l]egend,' the author says, 'has often proved true in the case of Serbia' [61]. Faith in Serbian myth was also expressed by Oona Ball and Lovett Fielding Edwards (see Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 90; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 194-5).

⁷⁵ F. May Dickinson Berry, 'Captivity', in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 242.

⁷⁶ The shift is an important one. As Edwin Jones reminds us, before the twentieth century, British historians 'did not even recognise the need to look at events from another nation's point of view' (Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 178. For examples of such citation, see Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 37-44, 45-57, 58-67; Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. vii-xi, 16, 77, 106-7; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 117; James Berry, 'Historical Introduction' to Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 7; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 96; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 265-9; Waring, *Serbia*, pp. v-xv. For later examples, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 262-4; Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 7; Grace Ellison, *Yugoslavia: A New Country and Its People* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1933), pp. 182, 289-293; Brown, *Dalmatia*, pp. vi-vii; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 179-80. In sharing textual space with Serbians, the friendliness extended to Serbia during the period of sojourn was reproduced during the scripting of that sojourn. Though beyond the parameters of my research, one could assume the usage of Balkan texts and personages in British writing was reflected by a usage of the complimentary works of Britons in Balkan writings of the period. Philip Holden makes some interesting points about this kind of collaboration in the colonial context, in Holden, 'Dissonant Voices: Straits Chinese Appropriation of Colonial Travel Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (Spring 1998), p. 187).

⁷⁷ The process reminds me of Pratt's useful distinction between what she terms 'objectivist discovery rhetoric, whose authority is monologic and self-contained', and a discourse which is more 'dialogic, seeking out rather than defying local knowledge' (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 104). While the former describes the approaches of nineteenth-century travellers in the Balkans, the First World War saw the tentative emergence of the latter. In an extreme example, Norris reports how, '[i]n 1916 a committee was established in Britain to promote the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, the famous battle [...] from which the Serbs traditionally trace their defeat by the Turks. Pictures of Prince Lazar who led the Serbian side were distributed while [...] information was distributed to British schools to help them mark the event' (Norris, *Balkan Myth*, p. 34).

This championing of Serbia and Serbian perspective was clearly not an unconscious process, but one so determined in its pursuit of national advocacy, and so polemical in style, that it read at times like open propaganda. The point is best made by noting just how many statements of direct support for Serbian independence there were during the period, as many in the war memoirs, indeed, as there were statements of support for Austro-Hungarian or Ottoman rule over the region in nineteenth-century travel writing. Wilson's comment that "the Serbs are a fine race who have their right to freedom", for example, Matthews's claim that after the Central Powers have been defeated Serbia 'will rise again in the future to a glorious destiny, a wonderful Life', and Stebbing's sweeping assertion that after the war 'the Allies would doubtless create a larger Serbia, bringing in all the Serbs who at the beginning of the war were included either in the Austrian Empire or Bulgaria',⁷⁸ reveal the British fervour not just for Serbian independence but for Serbian expansionism. It is at this point that one should return to a question I posed at the outset. On the subject of its links to power, there seems no doubt that the most pronounced political implication of the new paradigm, with its overt advocacy of Balkan self-determination, was to finally deny legitimacy to those colonial claims on the region that Victorian travellers had helped to further. Such denial was evident in the polemical content of the memoirs, but also embedded in their representational styles, where the tropes of order, civilisation, progressiveness, not to mention the discovery of civic, industrial and political structure, helped to undermine any idea that the region was in need of outside administration. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, 'that period of world history in which the nation was becoming an international norm',⁷⁹ the features that British autobiography chose to extol about Serbia were less significant as the markers of an attractive, courageous peasant culture (though they were certainly that) than as fundamental symbols of nation-ness. The linguistic,

⁷⁸ Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 114; Matthews, *Experiences*, p. 40; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 117. For other examples of the ubiquitous expression of, and sympathy for, Serbian nationalist sentiment, see Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 5, 34-5, 71; Askews, *Stricken Land*, pp. 106-7, 327, 358; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 91-2, 141-2, 201, 220, 226, 242-8; Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, pp. 95, 319-21, 388-91, 399, 446-7; Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, pp. 142, 183; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 76, 97-108, 247, 271-6; Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. v, 204, 217, 265, 273, 309; Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 89, 147, 186, 193, 249; Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 21-2, 40, 55; Paget, *Serbian Allies*, pp. 11, 93, 99; James Berry, 'Historical Introduction', pp. 2-8.

⁷⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983), p. 126.

cultural and religious complexity one finds emphasised in a writer like Wilson, and the costumes, arts, folk-dances and musical expressions one sees in a writer like Davies, were the specific and oft-cited vehicles of a homogeneity and uniqueness that gave Serbia - as with any ethnic grouping - its sense of national identity. This portrait of shared national experience was given historical depth by the emphasis the memoirs placed on both the nation's constitutive myths, which extended that experience into the past, and its potentiality for the future, their depictions of development in education, government and print capitalism suggestive of a high culture that could facilitate national destiny in modern Europe.⁸⁰ When set alongside the natural 'democracy' and unity which the diarists were persistently finding amongst the Serbian people, the representational strands all boil down to what Miroslav Hroch, writing on European nationalism, locates as the three 'irreplaceable' ties that characterise nation-building: 'a "memory" of some common past,' 'a density of linguistic and cultural ties', and 'a conception of the equality of all members of the group organised as a civil society'.⁸¹ As with its close ties to the discourses of racialism and imperialism in the nineteenth century, balkanism here linked up with discursive constructions of national identity. If nation is indeed an 'imagined community,' as Anderson famously termed it, then by the First World War the British were 'imagining' the Serbian nation as fervently as indigenous scholars and activists, establishing its cultural and linguistic claims to nationhood, and legitimising both its historical and geographical claims.

It is perhaps at this point that one can best ask whether or not First World War balkanism was a legitimate counter-discourse, a truly oppositional mode of signification. The motifs of the new strand of balkanism certainly problematised the air of stability that

⁸⁰ For Anderson's excellent discussion of the integral role of print capitalism in the development of nationhood, see *Ibid.*, pp. 41-9. There may seem a certain paradox in this merger of both tradition and modernity in national discourse, yet Gellner is correct when he claims, in relation to any nationalist overthrow of 'an alien high culture', that 'Nationalism usually conquers in the name of a putative folk culture. Its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*, the *narod* [...]. If the nationalism prospers it eliminates the alien high culture, but it does not then replace it by the old local low culture; it revives, or invents, a local high (literate, specialist-transmitted) culture of its own' (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 57). For Serbia, the early twentieth century was a time when the two processes - of extolling low culture and inventing high culture - overlapped.

⁸¹ Hroch, 'From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe', in Gopal Balakrishnan, ed., *Mapping the Nation* (London and New York: Verso, 1996), p. 79.

denigratory representation tended to exude, by revealing the discourse as both heterogeneous and mutable, as a field of struggle rather than of consent. As Stacy Warren remarks with regard to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the groups involved in the production of meaning within a culture, as well as the historical conditions informing that production, are constantly 'shifting', a fact that results in 'cultural meanings [being] constantly forged, revised and rejected'.⁸² The argument is picked up, and productively developed in Terdiman's excellent *Discourse/Counter-Discourse* (1985), a work that has been noted for its usefulness to postcolonial (and one might assume postcommunist) practices.⁸³ Accepting the power of dominant or hegemonic conceptual structures, Terdiman quotes Bakhtin's contention that the discursive field is always "heteroglot", composed of "socio-ideological contradictions between [...] different socio-groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth".⁸⁴ Most importantly, for Terdiman, strategies of resistance operate in a way that involves the signifying practice in all sorts of oppositions, fractures, contradictions and paradigms shifts. As he writes: 'no discourse is ever a monologue [...]. Its assertions, its tone, its rhetoric - everything that constitutes it - always presuppose a horizon of competing, contrary utterances against which it asserts its own energies'[36]; and he goes on to claim that '[f]or every level at which the discourse of power determines dominant forms of speech and thinking, counter-dominant strains challenge and subvert the appearance of inevitability which is ideology's primary mechanism for sustaining its own self-reproduction.'⁸⁵ The modes of balkanist signification that emerged during the First World War would seem on the surface to mark just this counter-dynamic, modes which offer both contestation of nineteenth-century imagery, sources and assessments, and consequently evidence of the discourse's contingency and indeterminacy. Yet is all this enough to suggest genuine

⁸² Warren, "This Heaven Gives Me Migraines": The Problems and Promise of Landscapes of Leisure', in Duncan and Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation*, p. 176.

⁸³ See Ashcroft, et al, eds., *Empire Writes Back*, pp. 168-9.

⁸⁴ Bakhtin, quoted in Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, pp. 18-9.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 36, 39-40. He later remarks that 'a dominant discourse necessarily suffers the drawbacks of its own virtues. When a particular social practice emerges as hegemonic, its relation to other competing and contesting practices is subtly altered. By virtue of its status as dominant, it becomes the target for "vampirization," for colonization, for subversion by its rivals. It begins to be the inevitable referent of their counter-assertions'[64]. He then adds: 'We might thus posit something like a Newton's Third Law in the discursive realm: for every dominant discourse, a contrary and transgressive counter-discourse'[65].

counter-discourse? As Terdiman points out, counter-discourse is nothing if not fragile, always in danger of 'reinfection by the constituted *sameness*, the apparent stability and inertia, of the dominant.'⁸⁶

In balkanism's sudden interest in 'history, language and customs', as Hroch sums up the themes of nationalism,⁸⁷ it seems to me that any notion of the new balkanism as straightforward mitigation of nineteenth-century power relations is actually problematised. The paradigm might have marked a crucial shift away from the colonial signification underlying previous representations, but emerged from the very same sense of political expediency which, in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, had produced British support for imperial rule in the Balkans. Clearly, with the Dual Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire now ranged on the enemy side, and the former's '*Drang nach Osten*' assuming more sinister prospect since its alliance with Germany, the only means by which to protect Allied interests in the region, both during and after the war, was to carve out strong, resilient independent territories, moulding them into nation-states through all the signs, images, tropes and evaluations of a nationalist discourse, and reassigning them the value of national ally rather than cultural other. It is true that '[h]aving a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity,' as Gellner once wrote, and that 'nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity.'⁸⁸ Yet for a Britain already suffering major military set-backs by 1915, and for a Serbia still pursuing the boundaries of its medieval empires, as well as holding out against western expansionism, the concept of Serbian nationhood in alliance with Britain seemed a vital requirement, so much so that the diarists often expressed criticism of British sluggishness in coming to Serbia's assistance in 1915, a delay which led directly to the Great Retreat.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, such criticism was far from the deep critique of British culture that was to come. The dominant was still a love of homeland, and the interesting point is

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 13-4.

⁸⁷ Hroch, 'From National Movement', p. 84.

⁸⁸ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ In a passage that exemplifies this trend, the Askews describe 'a fierce cartoon in a German paper' which 'represented the Allies in a small boat on a stormy sea. Serbia is a drowning man, about to disappear in the depths. France is in the act of throwing him a lifebelt, but England interferes. "No," says John Bull, "we may want that for ourselves. Throw him the laurel wreath"' (Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 214).

that suddenly, in the atmosphere of the war, the traveller's promotion of a Balkan state was the promotion of Britain - there was no longer a vast conceptual rift between them.⁹⁰

It is in this closer association of Serbia and the West that one senses a more questionable outcome to the new regime of power-knowledge. In a process that Serbia spearheaded, all the Balkan states soon found themselves emerging, for a time, into a predominantly western sphere of influence, one different to Austria's imperialistic administration but with consequences as wretched. It was not merely military alliance that had been produced during the war, or a strengthening of cultural and diplomatic ties, but a system of economic relations that established the peninsula's brutal dependency upon continental and global markets; the construction, that is, of a different form of rule, and one which had drastic social and political consequences by the 1930s. When considering such a condition, many of the tropes which I have been locating at the centre of the emergent paradigm assume a deeper resonance. Order, clarity, rationalism, progress, the terms by which the memoirs constructed modern Serbia, were the essential tenets of a western Enlightenment thinking that had always been profoundly implicated in colonial expansion and cultural imperialism. Certainly, the Enlightenment was a period which, at least amongst more genteel social circles, had advocated a European cultural and linguistic unity which transcended national division: Rousseau's claim that 'there is no longer a France, a Germany, a Spain, not even English, there are only Europeans',⁹¹ indicates the kind of free exchange which the *philosophes* had fondly awaited. But Enlightenment was not always about equality, as the particular construction of Europe in Rousseau's comment would indicate. Dorinda Outram is right to point out that although natural or universal rights were a tenet of many thinkers, their frequent support for the *civilising mission* abroad, and the desire for social stability at home, meant that 'the actual exclusion of large numbers of human beings from the enjoyment of those rights is

⁹⁰ [T]hough beneath an alien Flag,' Matthews writes on nursing Serbian soldiers behind the German lines, 'it would be for Britain!' Similarly, she later writes on that 'it was worth going through it all - for the Empire and the King' (Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 64, 131). For other direct expressions of patriotism, see Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 156, Stebbing, *Serbian Front*, p. 14; Abraham, *Balkan Log*, pp. 1, 86; Napier, *Experiences*, pp. 169-70; Krippner, *Quality of Mercy*, p. 162; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 5-6, 9-11, 241-2.

⁹¹ In Hampson, *Enlightenment*, p. 71. Porter writes: 'The *philosophes* mocked narrow-minded nationalism along with all other kinds of parochial prejudice. They liked to view themselves as men of the world, who belonged less to Savoy, Scotland or Sweden than to an international republic of letters' (*Enlightenment*, p. 51).

central to [...] Enlightenment thought.’⁹² Indeed, the vast imperial expansions of the eighteenth century in which Enlightenment uneasily conspired is in many ways mirrored by the spread of western influence into south-eastern Europe in the early twentieth century, when the West took up the reins of power, and the Balkan countries - subordinate partners in the relationship - struggled to adapt. And as I shall go on to explore, the economic difficulties of the period, the political relations between the West and the authoritarian regimes of south-east Europe, the redrawing of boundaries after the two world wars, all showed that the West was not about to be a benevolent master, a point the war generation often exemplified personally. The traces in their work of a lingering authority, and readiness to condemn the indigenes when they failed to obey that authority, both indicate that a very British attitude to abroad was still at work.⁹³

There were plenty of things, in summary, which connected the representational paradigm that achieved dominance during the war to the forms of constructing the Balkans that had preceded it, and which undermine any claim that the period might be counter-discursive. This retention of Englishness itself helps to establish the fact that as yet the war generation’s simple reshuffling of images, tropes and evaluations created merely a different slant on the same hegemonic discourse, not an oppositional ideology, and certainly not some transcendental perspective from without. The vital question the period raises, however, is whether some trends within discourse can be seen, if not as truer than others, then at least as preferable. Certainly, this new balkanism was no closer to some fixed, or objective Balkans than the older style, and did not look set to assist the creation of a genuinely equal post-war Europe. Yet its demonstration of an ability to

⁹² Outram, *Enlightenment*, p. 122.

⁹³ For examples of the Briton’s easy assumption of authority, on both a personal or public level, see Dearmer, *Letters*, pp. 109-10, 112, 172; Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 115, 124, 164, 196-7, 256, 259; Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 236, 248; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, p. 220; Sandes, *Autobiography*, pp. 23, 77, 108, 176-7, 204-6; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 37-41; James Berry, ‘Mercury and Athene’ in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, pp. 104, 110. It is not easy to maintain a strict separation between colonialism and the professional status, and administrative responsibilities, achieved by the British relief workers of the Great War, or indeed of any foreign crisis. J.L. Hammond captures something of this when he remarks upon the ‘condescension’ at the heart of relief work, the way ‘victims of war or famine’ are seen ‘as raw material for the organising skill of philanthropists’ (Hammond, ‘Foreword’ to Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. iii). Berry also self-consciously writes that her medical team’s usage of prisoners made the British feel like ‘feudal lords,’ or ‘the Southern States of America before the abolition of slavery’ (Berry, ‘Austrian Prisoners’ in Berry, et al, *Red Cross Unit*, p. 94).

intervene, contest and alter dominant conceptualisation, and end the worst excesses of Victorian imperial attitudes to the peninsula, identifies a space for negotiation and manoeuvre within representation that in turn can moderate the relationship of knowledge and power. The theme I wish to explore - as I move into what appear to be the more radically destabilising tactics of inter-war travellers - is the extent to which such contestation and reduction of power was genuinely achieved.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ESCAPE FROM MODERNITY

For the history of balkanist discourse, the real import of British pro-Serbianism was the way it opened up a gap through which the whole of south-east Europe could be viewed more positively. It is perhaps understandable that during the war, a period I have called a temporarily heightened struggle between paradigmatic forms, little attention had been paid to that notion of an unproblematically unified Balkans which had underpinned Victorian conceptualisation. The conflation of these varied states was clearly unsuitable for a time of such rigid alliances, divisions and bitter cross-continental hostilities, even to the extent that overt denial of congruence through the peninsula did occur: the Askews, for example, bemoaned the way 'all the natives of the Balkans are regarded, without discrimination, as tarred with the same brush', and Blease regretted how 'comparisons between the peoples of the Balkans [...] lead to facile and erroneous political conclusions.'¹ With the cessation of conflict, however, the pattern altered. As fresh travellers extended their sphere of interest, and began travelling again across the whole region, the British gaze, still unable, or unwilling, to locate meaningful difference between south-east European ethnicities, began again to conflate their highly plural cultures. But - following on from the war generation - such conflation was now almost always complimentary, essentialising the whole peninsula as a realm of conspicuous value, and complimenting its peoples with an extravagance unavailable during the Victorian era. In other words, the new discursive style was not solely connected to the specific allegiances of the war - it had spread.

In claiming that the dominant paradigm of the travel writing published in the 1920s and 1930s was complimentary, I do not wish to over-simplify the period, or to underestimate the presence of varying forms of complimentary representation. One of the

¹ Askews, *Striken Land*, p. 37; Blease, 'The Serb People', p. 136.

major strands available for analysis, for example, was a continuation of the kind of appreciation found in the war memoirs: a fond, unconcealed affection for local landscape, custom, costumes and manners, with popular travellers like R.H. Bruce Lockhart and Lovett Fielding Edwards reproducing the patterns of representation of war writers like Davies, Berry and Wilson.² Yet as mentioned in the last chapter, I view the textual engagement with war-torn Serbia as merely the site of emergence for an alternative representational paradigm, not one that demonstrated the breadth of that paradigm in full, and so it is with such post-war construction. The appreciative response to the region may have inverted or reassigned the value of the major tropes of Victorian balkanism, but did so in a manner which bore no contradiction with Enlightenment assumptions, merely turning chaos into harmony, savagery into civilisation, and backwardness into progress (or at least a natural virtue that reflected civilised morality), codes which infer that the level of the Same had not been transgressed, questioned, or even problematised, merely extended to embrace the other. There was another strand of construction, however, that took a far more oppositional stance to western assumption. Here, that dynamic, self-empowering sense of being British and abroad in an era of high imperialism, still infecting the writings of the war generation, was greatly reduced, the narratives revealing a self-doubt, scepticism, and outright condemnation of the homeland, with the exhilaration of the journey deriving more from an escape from Britishness than from enactment of its privileges abroad. Linked to this was both the intensification of the war generation's affection for the pre-modern and, as I shall detail, a set of tropes barely glimpsed during the period of emergence, by which many of the beliefs of that former period were radically undermined. It is true to say that whereas the achievement of the diarists had been a dismantling of the old self/other binarism, and a merging of east and west, the radicalism of much inter-war travel writing was in reintroducing the self/other dichotomy, and then inverting them, so that it was now the east at the positive pole of the binary. It is this style of representation that I shall be most concerned with in this chapter.

² Apart from Edwards and Lockhart, instances of this kind of representation can be found in Rhodes, *Dalmatia* (1931), Benson, *The Unambitious Journey* (1935), Edmonds, *To the Land of the Eagle* (1927), Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage* (1939), Ellison, *Yugoslavia* (1933), Forman, *Rumania through a Windscreen* (1938).

In analysing the new paradigm, I shall be considering the literary and cultural context of British travel writing to be as vital an influence on form and motivation as it had been for previous generations of balkanists. The radical edge of inter-war representation was, as mentioned at the outset of the section, a particular flowering of modernism, a literary aesthetic which, in responding to the same social conditions, and sharing the same personal apprehensions, absorbed many of the thematic and stylistic qualities then being developed in mainstream intellectual writing. It should be no surprise, for instance, to find that the paradigm also came to full fruition *after* the First World War. For younger travellers in particular, the brutal realities of the conflict were less a stimulus to patriotism, loyalty and service - as it had been for the diarists³ - than an indictment on the entire course of western civilisation, their writings challenging all those practices by which British capitalist society endorsed itself, its progress, science, materialism and, most importantly of all for the shift from colonial paradigms, the ongoing injustices of Empire, with Said - for example - viewing disaffection with 'the triumphalist experience of imperialism' as a central feature of 'modernist sensibility.'⁴ The journeys taken during the period, particularly into non-western cultures, were less a pursuit of adventure than a form of pilgrimage, a quest for the solace, meaning and personal salvation unavailable in this compromised, rapidly modernising homeland. It was a new mood, a new kind of traveller, and one that inevitably resulted in a new kind of Balkans, as the motif of obfuscation does something to demonstrate. In the war years, the Victorian discovery of darkness and mystery was exchanged for that of clarity and honesty, an extension of positive representation of the era; in the post-war period, mystery re-entered the signifying system, yet did so in a style no longer indicative of a wilful obscurantism, but of enchanting spiritual depth.

Before going on, later in the chapter, to analyse textual stylistics and authorial personae, I first wish to explore the landscape the new paradigm constructed, with special reference to its divergence from the tenets of Victorian representation. The thread

³ The diarists had certainly condemned the war, but rarely the civilisation that had produced it.

⁴ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 227. Said continues on the modernist era, 'It was as if having for centuries comprehended empire as a fact of national destiny to be either taken for granted or celebrated, consolidated, and enhanced, members of the dominant European cultures now began to look abroad with the scepticism and confusion of people surprised, perhaps even shocked by what they saw'[229]. It should be remembered that the British Empire was still powerful during the period (see Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, pp. 3-7).

I shall use to draw this heterogeneous period together is the travellers' attitude to objective time, or the clock. If there was anything that crystallised the writer's hostility to modernity it is what Stephen Kern, in his classic study of the subject, terms public time, that linear, objective, ever-forward march of history for which the clock acted not only as symbol, seeming to enact in its relentless progression the dreadful inevitability of technological advance, but also as primary agent. As Kern details, the spread of personal and public time-keeping did much to increase the grasp that metropolitan society had on the individual, with militarism, mobilisation, industrialisation and even imperialism (via the newly instituted standard time), all benefiting from advances in time-regulation.⁵ In fiction, a common response was to retreat from what Lawrence called '[t]he terrible bondage of this tick-tack of time' into a Bergsonian private time, that subjective flux of desire and memory that constituted a form of 'time in the mind' - as Woolf put it - instead of 'time on the clock'.⁶ In travel writing, the narratorial personae, like others of their counterparts in fiction, enact this desire to remove the self from history through a more straightforward physical journeying from the site of modernity. The new styles of representing the Balkans, as well as of representing oneself in the Balkan location, were linked by their all being a return to some point in the past, a temporal journeying back in imagined history, usually an idealised point in Britain's own history, at which the traveller could exchange rushing public time for the peace and stability of 'almost primaeval romanticism'.⁷ By looking at instances of this journeying, I not only want to

⁵ See Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 11-15.

⁶ D.H. Lawrence, *Women in Love*, rpt. ed. (1921; London: Heinemann, 1954), p. 456; Virginia Woolf, *Orlando*, rpt. ed. (1928; London: Grafton, 1977), p. 61. For two excellent discussions of the modernist treatment of time, see Kern, *Culture of Time and Space*, pp. 16-35; Randall Stevenson, *Modernist Fiction: An Introduction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp. 83-153.

⁷ Jan and Cora J. Gordon, *Two Vagabonds in Albania* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head; New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1927), p. 2. Apart from the treatment of time in the texts I discuss below, the following are of interest: Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 188; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, p. 67; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 17; Henry Baerlein, 'The Serbian Woman', in *Travels without a Passport: Second Series*, p. 72; Starkie, *Raggle Taggle*, pp. 205, 209, 222-3, 303; Sacheverell Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, new ed. (1938; Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1992), pp. 4-5, 17, 114; Patmore, *Invitation*, pp. 68-9, 142, 152; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 128-9; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, p. 174; Nigel Heseltine, *Scarred Background: A Journey through Albania* (London: Lovat Dickson, 1938), pp. 11, 14-5; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, p. 221; Wilson, *Portrait*, pp. 17-8, 54; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 99, 171-2; Alexander, *Stones*, pp. 68, 230; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 77, 160-2, 187. The state of being outside time assumed greater importance during the slow build up to World War Two: for example, see

analyse modernist social critique, but also to trace the quest in the modernist period for spirituality, revelation and alternative social orders.

One framework through which the temporal journey had been constructed was a simple primitivism, a continuation of the Victorian love for untamed landscape, though in a manner that would produce more philosophical speculation and idealism than previously apparent. My understanding of the phrase is comparable to what Lovejoy and Boas term 'hard primitivism', a temporal location of value in the pre-modern past which, in contrast to 'soft primitivism', or the 'idyll of the Golden Age', defines that value as the eternal, heroic struggle for existence in a savage environment far from the debilitating comforts of civilisation.⁸ The outlook is perhaps best exemplified by Rose Wilder Lane's *The Peaks of Shala* (1922), a travelogue detailing the American author's journey with two Red Cross workers around northern Albania, the general territory of Durham's more famous work. Here, both the noble, barbarous demeanour of the tribal warriors and their wild mountain landscapes indicate classic ground for primitivist adventure, with Lane exclaiming that '[i]t was as though we had dropped through a hole in time, and fallen into the days when men were wild creatures in the forests.'⁹ This was not just an area in which to test the masculine self, however, despite the apparent condescension of the comment. Another instance of her treatment of time, and one which illustrates the awe Lane feels towards Albania, comes early in the journey, when the cultural complexity of the region is sensed, her connection to civilisation lessens, and suddenly she feels her 'perspective in time was growing dim':

we were living in the past, not thinking of it, and the scores of future centuries in which men would spread over Europe, invent private property, build great cities and empires, discover America and invent machines, became as faint to us as the old memory of a

J.R. Colville, *Fools' Pleasure: A Leisurely Journey down the Danube, to the Black Sea, the Greek Islands and Dalmatia* (London: Methuen, 1935), pp. 175-6. Some were still critical of the region's laxity about time-keeping: Gordons, *Vagabonds in Albania*, pp. 13-4; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, p. 15.

⁸ See Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, rpt. ed. (1935; Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 9-11.

⁹ Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 34. For further reference to time, a constant concern in the text, see pp. 38, 56-7, 61, 69, 75, 110, 115, 205, 222, 223. In another Albanian journal, Lane writes that '[t]here isn't any time here, only eternity, and in eternity there can't be any haste or fretting' (Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 87).

dream [...]. All that we call civilisation is like a tune heard yesterday, a little thing floating on the surface of our minds, which sometimes we can keep step to, and then in a moment it is gone so that we cannot even remember it. [52-3]

This return to a past era - at one point dated 'twenty-five centuries' before the western present - produces a sense of peace and spiritual freedom, a welcome escape from 'all those currents ['movement of peoples, marching of armies, alliances of nations, the tides of poverty and disease'] which bewilder, crush and smother the struggling individual'[223]. Indeed, by achieving this perceived distance from modernity, Lane feels herself to exist outside not only civilisation's code of behaviour, but also its modes of thought. The claim is supported by her idea that the selfhood, with its patterns of acquired behaviour, is socially transmitted, not determined by some racial, biological essence, and therefore 'takes on different colours from its environment', an idea which leads her to believe that 'in Albania there is not one of us who will not become Albanian'[207]. This loss of self in the other, which corresponds here to an escape from chronological public time into a kind of transgressive, atavistic personal time, would have been anathema to the Victorian, but was not unusual for the period of literary modernism, and in the manner of modernist travel brought the author constantly to the verge of revelation. In a process she terms a 'soft landslide' of the mind, Lane finds the presumptions of modern America gradually being replaced by the gamut of 'primitivist' creeds, including a ready adoption of mountain life, a love of spartan accommodation, a familiarity with seemingly medieval mores, and even a pre-Enlightenment, pre-Christian capacity for superstition, as her exposure to local belief begins 'uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself.'¹⁰ It is this imagined lack of distance between Lane's perspective and Albanian faith and practice that explains her sense of the journey as homecoming, a feeling common amongst her contemporaries, and one which continues the war generation's fantasy of acceptance into an alien imagined community.¹¹

¹⁰ Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 59. For examples of Lane's primitivism, see *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 69, 83, 102-5, 109-10. Elsewhere, the notion that by escaping the cultural forms which have created the self one can slip the chains of that self is crystallised in her comment that in Albania's 'primeval' landscape, 'everything that reflects ourselves to us [...] is left behind' (Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 91).

¹¹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 109. The image indicates the distance from Victorian aloofness and links with Freud's notion of the 'uncanny'. Some measure of home-coming, or welcoming imagined community, was present in Durham and the war generation: see Durham, *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 103, 251; Durham,

Travelling through time and space, Lane has discovered revelatory existence of alternate identities: 'One must go across the centuries and back,' she writes, 'across a great deal of the world and back, perhaps, to know all the strange things that are at home, all the romances and surprises in one's own self.'¹²

An important feature of this temporal journeying from the 'civilised' West was the travellers' interest in those pre-Christian practices to be found in the 'primitive' locale. By this, their writing reflected a general trend of modernism as a whole, whose retreat from social commitment and scepticism with established institutions included a move from the public worship of a Christian tradition to the more private faiths of marginal or non-Western traditions. W.B. Yeats, Katherine Mansfield, T.S. Eliot, Radclyff Hall, Hilda Doolittle and Aldous Huxley, to cite a few examples, were all involved with what Suzanne Raitt terms the 'mystic revival'¹³ of spiritualist and eastern philosophical beliefs in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, coming to find there a relief from the

Lands of the Serb, p. 220; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 252; Dearmer, *Letters*, pp. 150-1; Sandes, *English Women-Sergeant*, p. 114; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 90; Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 217. For the sense of 'at-homeness' in inter-war travelling, see Henrietta Leslie, *Where East is West: Life in Bulgaria* (London: Jarrolds, 1933), pp. 39, 81, 194; Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, pp. 25, 140, 203, 308; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 11, 37, 41, 232, 246; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 152; Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 46, 76-8; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 162-3. See also the greetings received by Thornton (*Ikons and Oxen*, p. 172 - a comment profoundly of the inter-war period) and Yovitchitch (*Pages*, p. 111).

¹² Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 223. Her meditation, a sort of epiphany at the journey's end, continues: 'I thought of the world as made of little individuals like ourselves, each lonely, surrounded by the unknown, each a little world in himself. If each of us could only make our own little world clean and kind [...]' [224]. At one point, Lane wonders if it is indeed possible for the individual to achieve escape, seeing herself as a 'daughter of the twentieth century' [175], and therefore stuck in a specific cultural context. The point is taken up in *Travels with Zenobia*, a more pessimistic text, in which she writes that, whatever our romantic desires may be, 'an implacable circle of reality moves with us wherever we go' (Lane and Boylston, *Travel with Zenobia*, p. 99). The journal recounts the failed attempt of Lane and friend to make Albania their home in the late 1920s.

¹³ Raitt, *Vita and Virginia: The Work and Friendship of V. Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 120. The exploration of pre-Christian mores was rare in mainstream modernism, being pursued most famously in Lawrence's primitivist writing, such his *The Plumed Serpent* (1926), and less famously by Aldous Huxley (a great admirer of Lawrence in the 1920s) in *Point Counter Point* (1928) and *Do What You Will* (1929). On superstition amongst the Albanian tribes, Durham writes 'that many of the tribes of my own land believe in planchette and table-turning - consult palmists and globe-gazers, are "Christian Scientists" and "Higher Thinkers"', and concludes, 'all the training of all the schools had but little removed a large mass of the British public from the intellectual standpoint of High Albania' (*High Albania*, p. 192).

spiritual barrenness of materialist civilisation. Although spiritualism did occur in one case,¹⁴ the form such belief usually took in travel writing was in the primitivist fascination with pagan or animist practices.¹⁵ As perhaps its most fundamental tenet, primitivism holds that there are elements of the mythic or ancient consciousness - what Michael Bell summarises as 'animism, natural piety, and the rituals through which they are expressed'¹⁶ - which combine to produce a genuinely religious world view and which offer the participant access to a more vital, meaningful and harmonious structure for experience. Though ostensibly communal, for the solitary traveller such structure acquired the status of a private ritual through which lost meaning, by way of the epiphanic experience,¹⁷ could be momentarily glimpsed. This was a notion of travel, as Cocker puts it, as 'a veiled quest for God.'¹⁸

An example can be found in Philip Thornton's two volumes of Balkan travel, *Dead Puppets Dance* (1937) and *Ikons and Oxen* (1939). A musicologist and music teacher, Thornton's ostensible desire to record the songs and dances of the Balkans¹⁹ turns into an astonished account of the pre-Christian practices he witnessed along his route, the quest for which subsequently occupies most of his time in the region. The way such practices are depicted perfectly illustrates the central function of obfuscation in the inter-war travelogue. Viewing the autochthonous ceremony to be of profound importance,

¹⁴ Mabel St. Clair Stobart, a close friend of Arthur Conan Doyle; see her *Miracles*, pp. 20-1, 70, 134, 370.

¹⁵ See Simon Gikandi on the centrality of primitivism to modernist art: Gikandi, 'Race and the Modernist Aesthetic', in Tim Youngs, ed., *Writing and Race* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), pp. 147-165.

¹⁶ Bell, *Primitivism* (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 11.

¹⁷ James Joyce adapted the term from Catholicism. As Levin writes, 'An epiphany is a spiritual manifestation, more especially the original manifestation of Christ to the Magi. There are such moments in store for all of us, Joyce believed, if we but discern them. Sometimes, amid the most encumbered circumstances, it suddenly happens that the veil is lifted, the burthen of the mystery laid bare, and the ultimate secret of things made manifest' (Harry Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), p. 37). As McMillin contends, it was originally 'Romantic writers [who] transformed the notion of a flash of intuition and gave it more expressly secular connotations' (see Laurie Hovell McMillin, 'Enlightenment Travels: The Making of Epiphany in Tibet', in Duncan and Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage*, p. 59).

¹⁸ Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 135. An interesting comparison could be pursued between the quests one finds in these twentieth-century travel narratives and the kind of spiritual passages Campbell finds dramatised in world mythology: see his *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949).

¹⁹ See Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, p. 78.

whether it be folk dancing in Albania, funeral customs in Romania or occult rituals in Serbia,²⁰ Thornton surrounds his object with an aura of mystery that hints at great spiritual depth and aims to lend credence to his later claims of revelation. In *Ikons and Oxen*, one such occasion occurs in Vulgari, a small village in southern Bulgaria, ethnologically obscure and so physically isolated that preparing for the trip is like organising 'an expedition to cross the Gobi desert'[207]. The author has heard that the villagers there, on the feast days of Saints Constantine and Helena, conduct ceremonies that include passing icons of the saints through fire. Believing this to be a remnant of an esoteric Orthodox cult, he sets out on what can only be described as a mythic journey, first travelling through country he likens to 'some enchanted scene existing in the imagination'[208], and thence through a forest so 'quiet and mysterious' that he 'half expected to see a witch sail past'[213-4], before emerging in Vulgari's 'secret' country. The ceremonies are not long in living up to the author's expectations. After preliminary prayers and processions of the icons, the villagers begin the fire-dancing ritual, at the climax of which a couple of icon-bearers move forward in a curious swaying trance and, as Thornton 'bit the flesh off [his] knuckles' with 'excitement'[224], dance three times across the blazing coals 'without so much as a blister on their naked feet nor a thread singed in their trailing black dresses'[225]. The import of such an event - which Thornton claims to fully verify by checking both feet and fire - is not so much its specific drama, but its resonance of a cosmic *order*, a sort of fundamental occultism which in having wider temporal and geographical existence - the practices being found elsewhere in the contemporary world as well as amongst the Ancients - assumes the status of religious truth.²¹ After a similar experience in Serbia, for example, when a storm rages about him and he thinks back over the day, Thornton is drawn close to epiphany: 'I sat huddled up in the back of the car', he writes,

watching the raging storm and thinking how fitting an ending it all was to a day that had been dedicated to the veneration of the primeval powers. This storm was surely no

²⁰ For Albanian dancing, see *Ibid.*, pp. 28-38; for Romanian customs, see *Ibid.*, pp. 289-294; for Serbian rituals, see Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 277-300. On the latter he writes: 'The sum total of all human knowledge shrinks to an insignificant trifle when asked to produce a comprehensive solution of these mysteries' (*Ibid.*, p. 296).

²¹ See Thornton's discussion of the subject in *Ibid.*, pp. 202-7.

ordinary atmospheric disturbance; it was the grand finale of the great midsummer mystery when the good and bad forces of nature war together for the possession of the world. The fairies of the wind, the senders of palsy and the enemies of man were at work that night, reminding the inhabitants of Duboka that, though princes and kingdoms rise and wane, their power is indestructible, for they have been since the beginning and shall so continue, until this present order of things fades into oblivion, whence it came. [300]

One can only imagine how a Victorian traveller would have responded to a phrase like 'fairies of the wind'. Here was belief in a structure and meaning utterly beyond rationalist, Enlightenment configurations (as well as beyond 'time-consciousness'[67]) yet one deemed to hold the key not merely to the mysteries of the selfhood, which Lane was having answered in Albania, but also to the mystery of Creation. Indeed, one of the central motifs of a writer like Thornton is that of a spiritual quest ('I shall ride on until I find the end of this strange journey'[300]) which sets the pilgrim on a solitary, private pursuit of truth: Thornton's participation in the dances, for instance, enters him into 'a mystery that the outside world could know nothing about'[227]. With the dance the symbol of and entry point into the spiritual secrets of the Balkan peoples, '[h]e who would know the riddle' - he writes - 'must dance with them.'²²

The primitivism pursued by writers like Lane and Thornton was not the most common framework for balkanist representation after World War One, and perhaps understandably. One imagines that for many the realities of the conflict, with its primordial conditions and front-line savagery, had exposed enough of society's more rudimentary urges, and certainly in travel writing a new passion for warmth, colour and

²² Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, p. 331. Earlier, he says that '[i]n the dancing and music of the Balkan races are hidden their innermost secrets'[38]. For other instances of the Balkan journey as odyssey, pilgrimage or quest, see William Holtz, 'Prologue' to Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 1; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 61, 109; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 1, 174, 234; Heseltine, *Scarred Background*, p. 15; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 2, 63; Lovett Fielding Edwards, *Danube Stream*, new ed. (1940; London: Travel Book Club, 1941), pp. 116-7; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 3-4; Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 123-4, 130, 201-6; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 47-9; Stephen Graham, *The Moving Tent: Adventures with a Tent and Fishing-Rod in Southern Jugoslavia* (London: Cassell, 1939), p. 16. For some, the region's import lay in its retention of Christian belief: see Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 56, 72; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 138, 162; Alexander, *Wanderings*, p. 187; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, pp. 32-5, 37, 114-5, 143; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 106, 136-9, 163; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 16, 141-2, 213, 278; Graham, *Moving Tent*, pp. 82, 97.

comfort - all those pleasures contrary to the experience of war - came to surpass former cravings for hardship and danger. The result in the Balkan context was a strain of pastoralism, that mode of cultural signification that Lovejoy and Boas define as 'soft primitivism', or the evocation of a Golden Age in which a prelapsarian people, cosseted by a 'gentle' and 'indulgent' nature, live out an idyllic existence of contentment and leisure.²³ The framework clearly differed from its 'hard' counterpart, but the two retained several resemblances, not least their common source in the failings of the homeland. Bell, for example, argues that the idealisation of pre-modern society always 'denotes, or arises from, a sense of crisis' in the source culture, and Lovejoy and Boas consider both hard and soft primitivism a part of '[t]he unending revolt of the civilized against something, or everything, characteristic of civilization'.²⁴ Moreover, what travellers gained from these wholly imagined landscapes was largely the same: a momentary glimpse of a spiritual, harmonious existence - an 'Innisfree'²⁵ as one writer calls it - far from the chaos and violence of western modernity.

²³ Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism*, p. 10. Paul Theroux argues that the entire Western concept of the exotic is in fact a dream of peacefulness and innocence, the 'exotic' conjuring up images of 'a peaceable kingdom' composed 'of youth, of children and the child-like' (Theroux, 'The Exotic View', in Theroux, *Sunrise with Seamonsters*, new ed. (1985; London: Penguin, 1986), p. 147).

²⁴ Bell, *Primitivism*, p. 80; Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism*, p. 9. Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczkowska summarise the urge nicely: 'The unravaged haunts of beauty offer an experience of time before the vitiating effects of modernity and all the losses of innocence that it entails [...]. The journey and its destination are often described as a passage through symbolic time, forwards towards a resolution of conflict and backwards towards a lost aspect of the past' (Curtis and Pajaczkowska, "'Getting There": Travel, Time and Narrative', in Robertson, et al, eds., *Travellers' Tales*, p. 199).

²⁵ Ball, *Dalmatia*, p.130. The reference is to Yeats's 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree' (which Ball misspells in the text). She goes on to say on Dalmatia that 'it does seem to some of us that we are nearer to Heaven in this singularly lovely country' [205]. Graham also uses the Innisfree motif in Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. vii. For other references to peace, see Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 4, 168, 174; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, p. 17; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 88-9, 257; Marie, *Country That I Love*, pp. 94, 101, 107, 172; Koester, *Jugoslavia*, pp. 25, 31, 64; Archibald Lyall, *The Balkan Road* (London: Methuen, 1930), p. 137; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 225; Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 87; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, p. 143; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 9, 64, 151; Graham, *Moving Tent*, pp. 244-5; Forman, *Rumania*, pp. 82, 84. In the 1930s, the peace of the Balkans contrasted to the news of political unrest that filtered through to travellers from central Europe: for example, see *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 240-1 and Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, p. 89-90. Linked to peace was the attainment of escape or freedom in the Balkans: for example, see Martin Conway, 'Introduction' to Agnes Edith Conway, *A Ride through the Balkans: On Classic Ground with a Camera* (London: Robert Scott, 1917), pp. 15-21; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 18; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, p. 376. Starkie achieves 'the sensation of complete freedom' in his wanderings amongst eastern European gypsies, but the

A fine example in kind is D.J. Hall's pastoral *Rumanian Furrow* (1933), a work openly hostile towards modernity and its various ills. In a series of diatribes, the author condemns what he terms 'the restlessness of civilisation', its 'fetish' of work especially, but also its devotion to 'soda-fountains, movie palaces, bathrooms and chewing-gum, high wages, sky-scrapers, and city hygiene', remonstrating that 'what we have lost by [modern] culture is integral consciousness of mind and body, and gained instead [...] brains overcharged with knowledge 90 per cent of which is useless.'²⁶ The journey he takes to Romania, where '[t]he centuries fell away' and 'clocks did not govern',²⁷ is a frankly Lawrentian quest for psychological autonomy and spiritual insight. Believing that the Romanians retain a mythic, pagan consciousness, by which 'the things that really mattered [...] were the earth, the sun warming it and the rain cooling it, the wind rustling the fields of corn, love in spring and birth in winter'[10] he hopes to discover amongst them a 'directness of apprehension'[10] that might offer 'some key to the seemingly haphazard existence we lead'[63]. The first person plural, here used to designate a western urban community, soon changes its range of reference. Through a contact, the author finds lodgings in a peasant village amongst the Carpathian foothills, where in a fervent prose, and played out against a sylvan backdrop, he describes the richly satisfying life he leads amongst the countryfolk, a people of such kind and beautiful mannerliness that he was 'soon made to feel he was one of them'[21]; 'we worked on while the sun rose higher', he writes on a typical morning of a sojourn in which he assumes local attire, shares the burden of agricultural work and participates in all the rustic delights of dances, feasts, weddings and ancient rituals. Whether the experience finally makes him 'a part of this good earth'[26], however, his metaphor for an ancient wisdom opposed to civilised perception, he comes to question. After the euphoria of one village dance, as the crowd begins to disperse, Hall slips away gloomily by himself:

Why persuade myself that I could ever be a part of what surrounded me? With the affection of these people I could learn their customs, their language, even know

achievement was not easy: 'Nowadays it is not so easy to follow the example of George Borrow in a Europe teeming with police and customs officials, where the vagabond is looked upon with suspicion'(Ibid., p. ix).

²⁶ Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 168, 23, 140, 3.

²⁷ Time is a constant motif in Hall's text: see also Ibid., pp. 9, 9, 17, 62-3, 101, 112, 135.

themselves. But that other thing, the unseen essence that was their soul, that I could never probe. They were apart from me, their joys and sorrows, though I might think that I understood them, were of a wholly different nature from mine. I might love the earth, but I could not comprehend its language as could they who were a part of it. [55-6]

The pastoral representation of Hall's text should have already indicated the distance travelled from a Victorian like Crosse, with his dirty 'Wallachs'. Yet not only is rural Romania now shown as an industrious, orderly, complex culture deserving of respect, the passage also suggests that within that culture the status of the British traveller has radically altered. In contrast to Crosse's commanding Gaze, and his sense of himself as the sovereign centre of the travelled environment, Hall's detection of a spiritual depth beyond western materialism, one deemed closer to the 'essence' of things, leaves the wanderer from the West in a position of ignorance, marginal to this vital, meaningful life. This extraordinary decentring is emphasised in Hall's metaphor of the village as a closed, self-contained course: reflecting in turn that 'perfectly composed' 'cycle of the seasons', that holds 'the earth [as] its centre,' village life is viewed as 'a perfectly blended circle' which Hall may feel he 'had travelled an arc of' but from which he was bound to 'fly off at a tangent.'²⁸ Nevertheless, although full revelation is unavailable, the memory that he 'had been within its compass'[224], and briefly sensed higher realities than those of modernity, leads at least to 'contentment'[96].

An unusual feature of Hall's peasant utopia, which like all these representations has more to do with literary constructions of a British past than a Balkan present,²⁹ is

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 224, 97. Hall is so alienated after the dance that - remarkably when recalling Victorian coolness towards indigenes - he claims his only consolation is 'the thought that perhaps I really had been missed'[56].

²⁹ I would argue that the construction of pre-modern pastoral communities in the Balkans draws upon British nostalgia for its own pre-industrial past, the *Gemeinschaft* of the British collective imagination that Williams writes about so well in *The Country and the City*. As he says of the late-nineteenth century, the 'English' ideal of 'home' was so often a romanticised rural one, in which England's 'green peace [is] contrasted with the tropical or arid places of work; its sense of belonging, of community, idealised by contrast with the tensions of colonial rule and the isolated alien settlement' (Williams, *The Country and the City*, new ed. (1973; London: The Hogarth Press, 1993), p. 281). With the ongoing modernisation of the West during the early-twentieth century, however, it was now to elsewhere that Britons were turning for the comforts of the idealised rural community and landscape. Tim Youngs debates the point in 'Introduction: Context and Motif', to Youngs, ed., *Writing and Race*, pp. 6-7.

that it was left undated. Though the actual journey took place in a post-feudal society, the imagined landscape of romantic charm and rustic delight could suggest any era of English country life between the late middle ages and the early nineteenth century. A more typical approach amongst Hall's contemporaries was to set the Balkan pastoral within some loosely definable historical moment, one through which the pastoral could be inflected. In this way, George Sava's *Donkey Serenade* (1940) creates the Bulgarian countryside as thoroughly mediaeval, the author summoning up a quixotic - highly imaginary - world of comic brigands, medieval pilgrims, wandering story-tellers and exquisite village traditions.³⁰ Alternatively, Patmore chooses to locate his Romania within a more aristocratic matrix, retaining the primary markers of the medievalist, but emphasising the relations between peasant and landed gentry.³¹ More rarely, writers drew for metaphor on historical moments which were not so much components of the home culture as defining influences, antiquity being the most evident. Louise Rayner's *Women in a Village* (1957), as a late example, describes her experiences of Serbian rural life during World War Two via sustained classical allusion, her villagers - no different in essence from those of Hall, Sava and Patmore - taking on distinctly Homeric outlines.³²

³⁰ For other examples of the region's 'quaintly medieval flavour', as one writer called it (Nora Lavrin, *Jugoslav Scenes* (London: Stanley Nott, 1935), p. 11), see Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 104-7; Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 20, 23, 84-6; Colville, *Fools' Pleasure*, p. 198; Donald Weir, *Balkan Saga* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1937), p. 88; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 271-2; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 114-6; Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 297; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 216, 285; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 27, 70.

³¹ I discuss Patmore below. For other positive responses to the aristocracy and monarchy, see Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 141-3; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 197; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, pp. 60-5, 98, 134-8; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 84-7, 102-7; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 40, 58-71; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 24-5, 37-8, 83, 114. As a late example, see Patrick Leigh Fermor's *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986), in which he recounts a trek through the region in the 1930s (Patmore describes a meeting with Fermor in *Invitation*, pp. 135-44; see also Fermor, 'Foreword' to Sitwell, *Roumanian Invitation*, p. v). Marie's self-representation merges the aristocratic and medieval frameworks: see Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 105, 110, 169-71.

³² See also Anon, *A Journey through Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia* (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), p. 69; Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 13, 18, 68-9; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 139, 199, 218; Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. 106; Heseltine, *Scarred Background*, pp. 209-10; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 146-179. Classical imagery was common, but Allcock rather overstates its importance to balkanism as a whole (see Allcock, 'Constructing the Balkans', pp. 181-5). Another influential current was Judeo-Christianity, with biblical imagery also deployed (though never as a foundation for representation): see Brown, *Dalmatia*, p. 113; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 28-9; J. Swire, *King Zog's Albania* (London: Robert Hale, 1937), p. 266; Alexander, *Stones*, pp. 71, 128; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 164, 171;

The point to stress here is that while notions of 'easterness' persisted, such imagery constructed the Balkans within British range of reference, familiarising it on the level of the Same, and reducing the sense of otherness.

Another significant point is that all periods chosen, as well as being associated with greater spiritual or religious commitment, were periods indicative of tremendous structure.³³ The Balkan journey was a quest for spiritual fulfilment, finding it through the imagined arrival in 'the ages of faith', to borrow a term from Anthony Rhodes,³⁴ but it was also a desire from such ages for the secular qualities of social order and stability, qualities which, as the inter-war years wore on, seemed to be eroding from the West at an ever-increasing rate. After the hiatus of the 1920s, the renewed crises of the 1930s were not only internal, with economic depression and the rise of working class movements, but also external, with the dual threat of fascism and communism on the continent finally descending into the horrors of the Second World War. Although many addressed such social issues directly, and took sides in the political struggle,³⁵ there were others who turned instead to a nostalgic variant on the past, one that exchanged contemporary doubt and social aimlessness for the knowable worlds of the past, alive and demonstrably preferable to the western present. As a clear example in kind, the medieval design constructed by the balkanist, from its humblest peasant up to the crowned monarch, was a world of duty, belief, regulation and an assurance in cosmic order which, as Hoppé's rustics demonstrate, endowed the individual with a spiritedness remote in time and place from 'the *langueurs* of a tired civilisation'.³⁶ It was this sense of ancient order, of sheer 'changelessness',³⁷ as Hall termed it, that was in part responsible for the peace these writers achieved in the Balkans.

Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 167; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, p. 10; Gordons, *Vagabonds in Albania*, p. 134; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 127-8; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 73.

³³ This was a clear step on from the nineteenth-century sense of the region as inchoate and lacking in evolved social or political configurations. As Robin Okey reminds us, this more serious approach was reflected in the academic interest in eastern Europe that developed in the inter-war period, symbolised in the establishment of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies (see Okey, 'Central Europe/Eastern Europe', p. 121).

³⁴ Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, p. 260.

³⁵ For what is still the classic study of the decade, see Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation* (1976).

³⁶ Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, p. 43.

³⁷ Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 101. Marie refers to a landscape that is 'so changeless in its strength and stability that gratitude rises suddenly from my heart like a prayer' (Marie, *Country that I Love*, p. 171). Similarly, Leslie claims that the Bulgarian countryside 'seems to give you a glimpse of eternity, life that

The nostalgia for aristocratic England that pervades Derek Patmore's *Invitation to Roumania* (1939) forms another example in kind. At the time of Patmore's journey, the country was suffering from both the political afflictions common to newly constituted nations, with German fascism penetrating the state, and the economic effects of a world slump in agricultural prices, factors that had spread poverty and discontent throughout the whole of south-east Europe. It was an unpleasant reality that Patmore, like Hall before him, largely eradicates from the text.³⁸ The world in which the author is interested is that of the still dominant landowners, and, as illustrated by his portrait of the families he meets upon arrival in Bucharest, no facts are admitted which might tarnish his depiction of an orderly, efficiently ruled domain. In clear contrast to Berger, whose effete gentry had been notoriously corrupt, these boyars are vivacious hosts, 'beautifully mannered,' 'charming and intelligent' as well as thoroughly moral, and whose glittering social whirl of dinner parties and cultural pursuits recalls the 'elegance and formality of the pre-War days.'³⁹ Needless to say, the author - in that common motif of the period - soon starts feeling thoroughly 'at home'[11]. His evident fondness for the pleasures of the aristocratic life increases on a trip taken around the country, where he discovers a landscape of castles, dashing nobles on grand estates and 'smiling and happy' peasants [137], all set against the backdrop of a 'soft lyrical countryside'[92]. In this pastoral kingdom, the author senses the same 'pagan impulse'[110] within the peasants as Hall and Thornton, though there is less sympathy for the lower orders and more for landed families, who, to Patmore's delight, hold the former in a sort of 'feudal' relation. Such hierarchy is exemplified by one estate he visits in the south, where the family head, 'a Boyar of the old school', both 'patriarchal' and '[a]utocratic', keeps his extensive lands 'run on very old-fashioned lines'[107-8]. On being shown around his estate, Patmore says:

has been going on and on, life that will go on and on, life interminable [...]' (Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 81).

³⁸ The romanticism of travel writers in the Balkans comes close here to that of their Romantic forebears, eliding regional poverty in the same way as the Romantic depiction of "happy poverty", as Grewal writes, 'elided the real economic problems and the effects of harsh poverty on agricultural labor in early nineteenth-century England' (Grewal, *Home and Harem*, p. 32).

³⁹ Patmore, *Invitation*, pp. 13, 17, 11.

it interested me to see such feudalism still existing. All life revolved round the big house. It was a small world of its own where no one thought of any other. In the warm summer afternoons, the peasant labourers would come and sleep in the garden, and to all the peasants in the village and on the estate my host was doctor, adviser, the master and overseer. He worked very hard, rose at four o'clock each morning to go out in the fields and oversee the gathering-in of the harvest. [108-9]

Like the more famous estates of Evelyn Waugh, the 'big house' is here a symbol of protection - from economic and physical harm for the peasantry, but also, for the aristocracy itself, from the rough and tumble of historical change.⁴⁰ For unlike Waugh's decadents, Patmore's landed families have traditionally displayed careful adherence to the social obligations which their position entails and, in turn, 'the peasants [...] behaved with the respect which only comes from centuries of devotion to a family'[136]. This was clearly landscape as political metaphor, a fantasy during a time of transformation and upheaval of a social order in which everyone knew their place, and it is no wonder - yet again - that this 'very pleasant' world induces in Patmore a deep contentment.⁴¹ The Balkans was a place through which British travellers could retreat from present actuality into their own, more preferable, imagined past.

The book which best exemplifies the era's retreat into the imagined orders of the past, and attendant idealisation of the pre-modern Balkans, is Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1942), arguably the greatest journal of literary travel in the English language. West's notorious thousand-page aggregation of apocalyptic musing, dramatised historical vignettes and sustained rhetorical flourishes is the culmination of the preceding thirty years of balkanist representation, and forms what one might call the

⁴⁰ As is usual for a travelogue of the late 1930s, news of the worsening crisis in western Europe enters the idyll of pre-modern life that Patmore has constructed, and sets it off to the greatest advantage (see *Ibid.*, pp. 142-9).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55. For the peace Patmore comes to feel, see pp. 79, 128, 142. On a sourer note, Patmore reminds one how close the pre-war generation could come to the conceit of their forebears by succumbing to the temptation offered by peasant servility: during a wine-testing on one estate, he tells us, '[t]he peasant standing round drank our health, and with many cries of *Sarut Mana* [sic], which means "I kiss your hand," we returned to the house. At first I had been embarrassed by all the hand kissing, but after a little while I got used to stretching out my hand in a lordly manner to receive this obeisance. The servants and peasants expected it, for was I not the friend and guest of their mistress?'[137-8]. Such a relationship, which leaves Patmore 'feeling very *ancien regime*'[82] explains why Romania 'exercise[d] a peculiar attraction for the English'[152].

extreme that a paradigm facilitates, a text which so successfully captures and deploys the dominant signifying practice that - as *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* demonstrated - it can exert a profound effect on the practice for decades to come.⁴² On a basic narrative level, the major section of the book records a Yugoslavian excursion taken with her husband, Henry Maxwell Andrews, during the menacing climate of 1937. Her motive for departure reveals the normal antagonism to the society of her background, with modern Britain depicted as a realm of unnatural complexity, soulless monotony, and such a passionless and decadent political life that the author wonders whether the rising tide of Nazism will ever be arrested. Similarly, her decision to travel to the Balkans is the usual quest for value and meaning that her culture has so evidently lost. A previous sojourn in the region has taught her that Yugoslavia is 'a land where everything is comprehensible, where the mode of life was so honest that it put an end to perplexity',⁴³ and where a crucial proximity to spiritual truth has been somehow retained. So typical is her motive for departure that it is no surprise to find that her style of representation picks up where others have left off, with West constructing a remarkable nation of ancient pagan belief and glorious medieval order⁴⁴ whose revelatory possibilities are again exhibited to the reader through that familiar inter-war mixture of stylistic elegance and bewitched respect.

Where West differed from previous travel writers, however, was in the final extremity of that revelation. The most pronounced philosophical aim of her journey is to understand the inertia of the Western democracies in the face of the mounting call to arms, an inertia to which pre-modern Yugoslavia, on the one hand, brings shocking clarification. The defining moments of the narrative occur during West's experiences with the eponymous lamb and falcon. The first is sacrificed in an archaic fertility rite witnessed by the author in Macedonia; the second is part of a Serbian myth she hears at Kosovo, in which a prince's choice of an 'earthly' over a 'heavenly kingdom' on the eve of battle in 1389 ushers in five hundred years of Ottoman subjection.⁴⁵ At both points,

⁴² Brian Hall's wonderful description of West's *Black Lamb* as 'her masterpiece ... a book as long as the Old Testament' (Hall, quoted in Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 172) captures not only its sheer size, but also its spiritual quality and discursive significance.

⁴³ West, *Black Lamb*, I, 1.

⁴⁴ Alongside medievalism, West also drew on the history and art of Byzantium to construct her pre-modern Yugoslavia, a referencing of non-western tradition that was highly unusual: see, for example, *Ibid.*, I, 507-8, 647; see also, Patmore, *Invitation*, pp. 124-30; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 91-106.

⁴⁵ See West, *Black Lamb*, p. II, 293.

the author is struck by the terrible notion that '[a]ll our Western thought is founded on this repulsive pretence that pain is the proper price of any good thing'[II, 205]. With her very soul rising in revolt, West recounts how the images of Western art, Christ's crucifixion, even the submissive flavour of the English liberal movement, all presume that defeat, sacrifice and death form the only true path to innocence and righteousness. It is a pattern through which the wider crisis within Western politics is finally understood. The apparent decline of British democracy into indolence and frailty is no longer viewed as the lassitude of an empire in its autumn years, but as an actual urge towards death; 'the belief in sacrifice,' as West puts it, 'and a willingness to serve as the butchered victim acceptable to God'[II, 519]. With the nature of the western malaise clarified, the apocalyptic tone of much of her writing gains powerful, and emotive legitimacy.

On the other hand, what she terms the 'comprehensibility'⁴⁶ of pre-modern culture also assists West in her search for a solution. The main disclosure comes during her attendance at an Easter gathering in Macedonia. As the feast draws to a close, West observes an Orthodox bishop distributing painted eggs to the guests with such magical intensity that the whole table resonates with faith, hope and unity. In clear contrast to the morbid symbolism of lamb and falcon, the moment is viewed as an emblem of life, a joyous act of creation and integration which induces the comforting feeling 'that defeat is not defeat and that love is serviceable'[II, 92]. Although she mentions that 'its victories cannot be won on the material battlefield'[II, 92], West offers the process of creation and unity as a counter to the western urge towards self-destruction. Among the various examples of its efficacy presented in the book, perhaps the finest is the political structure of Yugoslavia itself. After the final rout of the Ottomans, the south Slav peoples had been allied in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (as Yugoslavia was originally called) under the Serb royal dynasty, an experience in ethnic unification whose increasingly rancorous nature was only checked by the centralism and autocracy of the Serbian monarchy. Rejecting the very genuine grievances of its detractors, West lauds the monarchical project both for its maintenance of the life and unity of the region, and its display of exemplary resolve. It is a point driven home through a series of fanciful

⁴⁶ So associated had pre-modernity become with the attainment of personal autonomy and realisation that West's Yugoslavia was deemed to hold revelatory potential before the journey had even begun. 'It was only two or three days distant,' as she wrote with the oncoming war in mind, 'yet I had never troubled to go that short journey which might explain to me how I shall die, and why' [I, 24].

romanticisms, as illustrated by her portrait of a Serbian friend, Constantine, who accompanies West and her husband during much of their tour. For the author, Constantine's ebullience as poet and raconteur, and crucially, his status as a Belgrade government official, both indicate a similar knowledge of the magical 'integrating process'[II, 212] of life to that of the Orthodox Bishop. Not only are the stories and poems he summons up in conversation but the structures of the nation he creates in his work at the Ministry assume the profound and harmonious beauty of 'figures in a poet's dream'[II, 383]. At a time when Britain was succumbing to the divisive power of Nazism, the unitary aims of a basically medieval autocracy emerge as a powerful symbol of creation, a 'poem', as West sees it, fragile and doomed, yet beautifully crafted.⁴⁷

On an aesthetic level alone, such methods of representing a Balkan nation marked a significant advance on the techniques of previous travel writers. Although deploying many of the same representational patterns as her contemporaries, one realises that West has created not merely an attractive world of escape for the reader, but a vast and highly unique figurative landscape. Along with the major emblems of lamb, falcon, Orthodox faith and Serbian dynasty, the minor threads of the perceived Yugoslavia - the baking of bread, German tourists, folk embroidery - are all incorporated into the life/death fabric of her symbolism. With the rigid, albeit unnatural, textual harmony that results, West's book itself becomes a kind of magical act of creation, emphasising the attainment of life over death by the Yugoslav Church and State, and aiming to inspire their qualities of strength, faith and unity in an apparently fatalistic western Europe. And it is on this polemical level that the real extremity of the work is disclosed. The colourful proposal that attributes of the Balkan region could actually assuage the problems of the civilised states was absent from the work of her predecessors, just as the belief in such social-wide solution was absent from modernism. For Durham, Hall, Thornton and their contemporaries, the lauding of a pre-modern destination may have evolved from a genuine disaffection with decadent society, and entailed harsh condemnations of its religious and political culture, but the idea that western Europe should regress into the archaism or medievalism with which they sympathised was never advanced. For West, at

⁴⁷ In the light of such representation, Todorova's reading of West's text as denigratory (largely through quoting, out of context, the latter claim that '[v]iolence was [...] all I knew of the Balkans': see Todorova, 'Balkans', p. 475; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 122) seems perversely misleading. Kostova's reading offers general support for my own: see Kostova, *Tales of the Periphery*, pp. 196-9.

a time when chaos and division were spreading throughout the continent, the simplicity of primitive faith, and the homogeneity created by centralised monarchy, represented ideals that she held and advocated with evangelical fervour. 'I feel that we Westerners', she concludes at Kosovo, 'should come here to learn how to live'[II, 301].

The true interest of West's book, however, was one it held in common with those of contemporaries. Throughout the records of inter-war Balkan travel, as I have tried to show, a vital feature was the travellers' belief in having achieved psychological distance from the decadence of the homeland. West's experiences with the lamb and falcon, for example, as with Thornton's discovery of Balkan superstition or Hall's life with Romanian peasants, were moments in which a gulf was felt to emerge between the established patterns of western existence and life in a more vital or authentic form. This was Lane's 'soft landslide' of the mind, or the sensation that Ellison called 'lifting the veil of centuries',⁴⁸ a sudden impression of having had the mental conceits and conventions of civilisation driven out through exposure to pre-modern reality, the site and source of value. The sense of escape from rushing civilisation, of removing oneself from time, is crystallised in a common motif of the region as bridge between past and present, an extension, in part, of the traditional motif of the Balkans as bridge between east and west. 'I never saw such a mixture of ancient and modern', exclaims Bernard Newman upon his entrance into Tirana, and whether expressed as the 'mixture of old and new', of 'feudal life' and '[e]xtreme modernity' or of 'the pack-horse and the aeroplane', the exit from history that the Balkans were thought to facilitate was the reason for 'the spell these places ha[d] over the traveller',⁴⁹ and the reason they accumulated such a reputation for truth and spiritual peace. It was also what led the autobiographical retreat into pre-modernity to reiterate the belief in epiphany current in the modernist writings of the times, merely exchanging Joyce's faith in literature for a faith in the liberating properties of ancient custom and tradition.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ In a Serbian monastery, Ellison writes 'one [is] face to face with the glory of long ago. It is as though one were lifting the veil of centuries, and the history of the past is becoming a living thing'(see *Yugoslavia*, p. 137).

⁴⁹ Newman, *Albanian Journey*, p. 41; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 226; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 152; Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 268; Lavrin, *Jugoslav Scenes*, p. 11.

⁵⁰ For other instances in the Balkan context of the epiphany, or moment of heightened significance, see Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 81; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 31, 60-1; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 116-7, 221-2; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 80-1; Abraham. *Balkan Log*, pp. 149-50;

The literary influences on travel writing did not stop at modernism. In the same way as representation had drawn on the discourse of nationalism during the war, the modern concept of the Balkans was strongly informed in the 1920s and 1930s by a philosophy closely bound up with nationalist ideology, that of romanticism.⁵¹ Indeed, when our notion of the generic constitution of modernism is extended to include travel writing,⁵² then the romantic sentiment one finds dominating the genre becomes a more prominent feature of the literary period than currently acknowledged, travel writing being, to borrow Daniel Schwarz's phrase, 'heir to the Romantic cult of abroad and its hyperbolic response to European beauty'.⁵³ For example, the modernist era was one in which not only the new sciences of anthropology and ethnology were advancing the romantic fascination for the primitive, but also in which those advances were drawn into literature for the purposes of challenging the West's hegemonic conceptions of culture and society.⁵⁴ Romanticism's 'antipathy towards society' was also reiterated by the travellers' sense of the corruption and 'artifice' of urban civilisation, and their turning away for truth and serenity to 'uncorrupted nature',⁵⁵ the latter now to be found in non-

Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. 35; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 44-5, 47-9, 100-1, 145-6; Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 205; Yovitchitch, *Pages*, pp. 97, 131; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 160-2. The sense that there is something vital to learn from the Balkans is repeated, for example, in Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 154; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 66; Alexander, *Wanderings*, p. 9; Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. 148; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 164; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 130.

⁵¹ Norris has detailed the interaction of romanticism and nationalism in the Balkan context: see Norris, *Balkan Myth*, pp. 18-22. See also Hösch, *Balkans*, pp. 14, 118; Okey, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 76-7.

⁵² Raymond Williams bemoaned the 'ideologizing' which informed the choice of authors that in turn controlled our understanding of modernist writing: such a choice resulted in 'a highly selected version of the modern which then offers to appropriate the whole of modernity' (Williams quoted in Brooker, 'Repositioning Modernism', in Brooker, ed., *Modernism/Postmodernism*, p. 72). Once the range of genre is expanded, as well as the range of authors, mutations occur in the thematic and stylistic dominant of the period.

⁵³ Schwarz, 'Disraeli Abroad: The Making of a "Continental Mind"', in Michael Cotsell, *Creditable Warriors, 1830-1876* (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1990), p. 54. There is a clear connection, for example, between the aestheticising tendencies of romantic writers and modern travel writers, the both viewing place 'through the lens of the picturesque' (James Duncan, 'Dis-orientation: On the Shock of the Familiar in a Far-Away Place', in Duncan and Gregory, *Writes of Passage*, p. 153).

⁵⁴ See Michael Bell, 'The Metaphysical of Modernism', in Levenson, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, pp. 20-2. For pertinent discussion of D.H. Lawrence's anti-modern romanticism, for example, see Fussell, *Abroad*, pp. 147-164, and Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, pp. 202-222.

⁵⁵ Aidan Day, *Romanticism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 41. Even the romantics' fascination with childhood, its innocence and insights, is reiterated by modernist travel, as least for

western societies rather than in unsullied stretches of western European countryside. The era was also one in which the romantic emphasis on art and imagination returned, with novelist and travel writer both believing that the importance of the journey, like the romantic explorations of self and other, lay in its status as revelatory 'testing-ground' for new 'beliefs and codes'.⁵⁶ It was even an era in which writers, evolving what Eliot called the 'the mythical method',⁵⁷ also returned to classical and medieval legend, to 'romances', for metaphysical and aesthetic structure.

The Balkans remained, to put things more bluntly, an enduring repository for western romantic fantasy. Although the British concept of the region had changed from the nineteenth century, when ruggedness, mystery and peril were more the taste of the adventurous self, the pastoral landscapes of a Hall or West still formed, in Wilson's

Mark Cocker, who argues that such travelogues 'frequently dramatise a return to the innocence and purity of childhood [...]. In journeys we discover all over again the newness of the world' (Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 257). See also Coulson on exile in general: Anthony Coulson, 'Introduction' to Coulson, ed., *Exiles and Migrants: Crossing Thresholds in European Culture and Society* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1997), p. 17.

⁵⁶ J.R. Watson, *English Poetry of the Romantic Period, 1789-1839* (London and New York: Longman, 1985), p. 75. The centrality of 'Art' to romanticism is discussed by Graham Allen (in 'Defences of Poetry', in Steven Bygrave, ed., *Romantic Writings*, 2nd ed. (1996; London: Routledge/Open University, 1998), pp. 82-9, and the return of that centrality in modernism is mentioned by Bell, in 'Metaphysics of Modernism', p. 29. Eysteinsson also evokes modernism 'as a kind of aesthetic heroism, which in the face of the chaos of the modern world (very much a "fallen" world) sees art as the only dependable reality [...]' (Eysteinsson, *Concept of Modernism*, p. 9). T.J. Diffey's definition of what 'Imagination' meant to the romantic poets would be understood by most inter-war travellers to the Balkans: 'the imagination [is] a peculiar faculty of the mind for the apprehension of that kind of truth which is beyond the power of reason, the sense or common experience to apprehend', a truth 'which in character is profound, religious, ultimate' (Diffey, 'The Roots of Imagination', in Prickett, ed. *Romantics*, p. 172). C.M. Bowra also writes that 'far from thinking that the imagination deals with the non-existent, [the romantics] insist that it reveals an important kind of truth. They believe that when it is at work it sees things to which the ordinary intelligence is blind and that it is intimately connected with a special insight or perception or intuition' (Bowra, 'The Romantic Imagination', in John Spencer Hill, ed., *The Romantic Imagination* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977), p. 92). This notion, Wordsworth's 'spots of time', is indistinguishable from the modernist notion of epiphany.

⁵⁷ Eliot, 'Ulysses, Order, and Myth', in Eliot, *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, ed. Frank Kermode (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 178. Peter Faulkner writes: 'The use of myth is one way in which the modernist writer has felt able to give coherence to his work, the myths often being of the most general kind, concerned with death and regeneration, the cycle of nature, the order of the seasons, though sometimes, as in the case of *Ulysses*, more specifically literary' (Faulkner, *Modernism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1977), p. 18).

phrase, a 'true Balkans of the imagination',⁵⁸ an elaborate realm of fancy and desire more reflective of the mindset of traveller, with its overt, peculiar needs, than anything real within the travelled environment. The region was, in short, whatever the travelling selfhood most wished to find. Cut loose from the ties of the familiar world, its codes, customs, conventions, travellers found their imagination also curiously adrift, and began to invent, to dream their surroundings, casting the landscape in the shape of pre-established desires, whether for personal mastery, for idylls of romance and pastoral bliss, or even for that gothic world of 'mystery and imagination', of vampires, troglodytes, werewolves, [d]readful chasms', 'mysterious' castles and 'cit[ies] of the dead' which straddled both the paradigms.⁵⁹ There were not many European locations by this stage of the twentieth century on which the travel writer, traditionally a spinner of suspect tales, could get away with such extremes; yet these were exactly the bold, literary imaginings that balkanism continued to facilitate.

However much inter-war travellers felt themselves journeying into imagination and release, their conceptualisations of the Balkans, like those of forebears, remained stubbornly entrenched in the realities of pan-European politics. There is no easy separation of knowledge from power, or cross-cultural discourse from the geopolitical concerns of the culture in which it originates. I would not argue, however, that some

⁵⁸ Wilson, *Portraits*, p. 69. For the open acknowledgement of the centrality of the imagination to perceptions of the Balkans, see Wilson, *Portraits*, p. 30; Lyall, *Balkan Road*, p. 109; Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 99; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 269; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 164; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, pp. 22-3, 194; Alexander, *Wanderings*, p. 70; Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 62, 201; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 208, 246; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. x, 70, 206, 376, 380, 382; Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. 68, 132. I am constantly reminded, perusing these inter-war flights into a fanciful south-east Europe, of Gerald de Nerval's lament about encroaching global modernity: 'I have lost kingdom by kingdom, province by province, the most beautiful half of the universe, and soon I shall no longer know where to seek a refuge for my dreams' (Nerval, quoted in Duncan and Gregory, 'Introduction', p. 7).

⁵⁹ Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 24; Alexander, *Stones*, p. 99, 250; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 239-40; Alexander, *Stones*, p. 128; Marie, *Country that I Love*, p. 163; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 221. See also Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 70, 144; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 160; Alexander, *Stones*, pp. 78, 190-1; Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 228; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 92. Lavrin's pictures are an interesting example of the Balkan gothic in fine art - see Lavrin, *Jugoslav Scenes* (1935).

measure of intervention into an established interpretative framework, and contestation of its stubborn political inference, is not an available course, as the work of the diarists would suggest. While such notions as beauty, vitality, warmth, kindliness and harmony had been ineffectual components of balkanism into Edwardian times, forming an invariably subordinate strain of the discourse, their achievement of dominance in the war reproduced them as the primary motifs by which the region was to be conceptualised after 1918 and by which its newly won political mores were viewed and evaluated. Independence, governmental structures, national cultures, diplomatic and economic relations were all features that representation assumed the authority to sanction or proscribe, and - as I shall detail - it tended towards the latter. The real question to ask, however, is whether the conceptual dominance of complimentary representation was enough to contest a denigratory concept of the Balkans which had always ensured, even during the allegiances of the war, that the region's role was one of absolute subordination to imperial Europe.

The romantic approaches to south-east Europe may seem in many ways condescending and hierarchical, ones that post-colonial critics, commenting on other geographical contexts, have so often found to be merely 'reifications and fetishizations of notionally simple ways of life.'⁶⁰ While acknowledging that such readings are often appropriate, I wish to consider romanticisation from other interpretative angles, most importantly studying its links to the national advocacy of the First World War, in order to test the possibilities of counter-discursive presence during the period. Certainly Turner's point on the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century romanticism - that for all its 'nostalgic' desire for 'a rural arcadia' to place against modern industrial society 'it was no less critical and radical'⁶¹ - is an important one to take up and examine for early-twentieth-century travel writing, whose articulations should be placed in the historical context of a Britain still imperialist and culturally supremacist in sentiment. In such a society, the simple desire for elsewhere, for escape from the customs and conventions of home, can in itself be considered a gesture of revolt. Hans Magnus Enzensberger argues that even tourism, corrupt and corrupting though it may be, represents 'a gigantic escape

⁶⁰ Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, p. 171. In a not untypical move, Grewal goes so far as to link romantic quests for the 'noble savage' with the imperial project of exploration and mapping, as well as to 'the discourse of the needs of the all-important Self' (Grewal, *Home and Harem*, p. 137).

⁶¹ Turner, *Orientalism*, p. 151.

from the kind of reality with which our society surrounds us', an escape which, 'no matter how inane or helpless it may be, criticises that from which it withdraws.'⁶² In the context of early-twentieth-century travel, the utopic, idealising perspective the traveller brought to bear on the Balkan object also indicates opprobrium of the home culture, as I have tried to bring out in the preceding pages: if it is true that 'the essential function of utopia is a critique of what is present', as Ernst Bloch has argued,⁶³ then British travel writing on the Balkans offered a pronounced critique on the present stage of western modernity. Rennie reiterates the point when he writes that 'prais[ing] a contemporary yet very different culture, particularly [...] in terms that catalogue its freedom from nearly every aspect of one's own, is implicitly, if not explicitly, to question or to criticise, not only one's own culture, but even culture itself.'⁶⁴ The romanticisation of the Balkans certainly continued to problematise the east/west binarism of Victorian signification that the diarists had begun, and certainly helps - in the genealogy of the Balkan concept - 'to relativize the authority and stability of a dominant system of utterance', as Terdiman defines the effect of counter-discourse.⁶⁵ Perhaps the real question is, however, to what extent romanticisation contested the very real inequalities between the still imperial West and the struggling small nations of the south-east.

Certainly, the inter-war travelogue's vigorous and persistent national advocacy, an ideology intimately connected to romanticism, would indicate that contestation was pursued with a passion. The war generation's absorption of Serbian national discourse was extended in the 1920s and 1930s, as glowing accounts of Balkan nationhood became a staple of travel writing on the whole of south-east Europe. Sava's overt backing of Bulgaria's 'newly acquired liberty,' for example, Newman's dream of a 'bright' future for the 'infant state' of Albania, or Spaul's hope that Romania enter 'an era of prosperity

⁶² Enzensberger, 'A Theory of Tourism', *New German Critique* 68 (Spring-Summer 1996), p. 135.

⁶³ Bloch, quoted in Jerry Phillips, 'Into the Melting Pot: Utopian and Dystopian Themes in Edmund White's *Travels in Gay America*', *Studies in Travel Writing* 1 (Spring 1997), p. 192.

⁶⁴ Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, p. 22. Speaking of Flaubert's writings on the East, Porter also argues that romanticising the other 'speaks to the discontents of a repressive civilisation whose values it goes out of its way to subvert' (Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, p. 169). He goes on to see D.H. Lawrence, Andre Gide and T.E. Lawrence as all offering 'expression of the impulse to overcome the perceived decadence of European culture through the embracing of different forms of "primitivism"' [199].

⁶⁵ Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, pp. 15-6.

and happiness such as she has never known',⁶⁶ are a few amongst numerous instances, and are all sustained in their texts - as was typical of the period - by constant evocations of the nations' noble historical evolution under popular, enlightened rulers.⁶⁷ The thing was further compounded by an emphasis on those contemporary features of indigenous culture that could be used to justify this growth of national consciousness. Such issues as literary practice, artistic achievement, architectural uniqueness, as well as the individuality and high developmental stage of linguistic practice - issues which the nineteenth century had chosen to elide - were continued from the war memoirs,⁶⁸ and gave an impression of unique, thriving cultures emerging into the era of fully-deserved national self-government. The import of such discourse is most clearly seen when, in the late 1930s, imperial interests once again threatened the peninsula. In the face of Mussolini's drive for eastern expansion, and Hitler's need for the south-east European granaries, the British travelogue's partiality to the Balkan nations led to vociferous arguments for their preservation, as exemplified by Sava's concerns about German encroachment on Bulgaria, or Baerlein's support for the Yugoslav retention of Dalmatia, and Heseltine's defence of Albanian integrity, against the claims of Italy.⁶⁹ Clearly, imperial rule was no longer deemed the best option for the region.

⁶⁶ Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 185; Newman, *Albanian Backdoor*, p. 284; Spaul, *Rumania*, p. 19. Wilson rather sums up the attitude of the period: speaking to a Viennese student about the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, she says "I am not an imperialist [...]. For me the Serbs are a fine race who have their right to freedom" (Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 114).

⁶⁷ For example, see Newman, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 27-40; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 55-9, 236; Spaul, *Rumania*, pp. 9-20. For other examples of the period's treatment of history, see Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, p. 24; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 55, 108-20, 123; Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. 69-85; Yovitchitch, *Pages*, pp. 43, 137-40; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 39, 158-9; Davies, *When I Was a Boy in Serbia* (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1920), pp. 58-66. In an earlier period, Durham is awed rather than disgusted by the existence of oral history in Albania: see *High Albania*, pp. 69, 74-5, 85, 151.

⁶⁸ For examples, see Forman, *Rumania*, pp. 95, 122, 143-52, 193; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 117-20; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 12, 40; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 242-8; Newman, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 77-83; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 51-2, 85-6, 166-207, 222-31; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 289-293; Spaul, *Rumania*, pp. 33, 71-8; Davies, *Boy in Serbia*, pp. 31-2, 90-8; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 72-7, 220-6.

⁶⁹ See Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 269-271; Baerlein, 'Dalmatia after the Great War', in *Travels without a Passport: Second Series*, p. 66; Heseltine, *Scarred Background*, pp. 96-8, 185. See also, Baerlein, 'A Note on Fiume', in *Caravan Rolls On*, pp. 124-32; Koester, *Jugoslavia*, pp. 75-6; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 268-9; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 55, 71-81, 269. O'Doneven's claim that its

There are a number of other reasons for considering travel literature a site of opposition during the period. Its modes of representation seem to me to mount several challenges to western hegemony, not only by openly questioning the need for interference in internal Balkan affairs, but also through sincerely doubting the value that any western interference would bring. On the issue of internal affairs, for example, the travellers' promotion of Balkan independence was, firstly, much less an abstract love of liberty, or an attack on nineteenth-century imperial injustices, than a sustained and passionate defence of the specific political systems that had emerged from the First World War, with travellers even viewing the dictatorships of the 1930s as moral, progressive, efficient and - most happily of all - independently functioning bodies. The viewpoint was nowhere more apparent than in work on Serbia, a country which, as *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* indicates, was now in the full flush of its love affair with the British traveller. The dominant note in West's glowing tribute, or indeed in those of Edwards, Ellison, Gibbons, Alexander and other inter-war travellers in the Kingdom, was of sympathetic acknowledgement for its struggles in the past, a glowing account of its attainments in the present, and sincere regard for its future.⁷⁰ That such representation also dominated elsewhere, however, could be exemplified by Hoppé's adoration of Queen Marie, Leslie's praise of the Bulgarian 'national spirit', and Swire's appreciation of the Zogist administration in Albania,⁷¹ countries of which it was rarely suggested that

occupation by Italy 'would be the best thing that could happen for Albania' is highly unusual (see O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, p. 168).

⁷⁰ For admiration of Yugoslavia, including its frequent Serb-centredness see West, *Black Lamb*, I, 533-637; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 68, 147-9, 188-9, 282-7; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 158-90; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 197-200, 219-61 (the contrast between Edwards's portraits of Croatia and Serbia is vital); Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 8-9, 42-3, 76, 135, 245-6; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 105-6, 114-22, 172-5; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 255-81. See also Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, pp. 58, 148, 167-9, 196-8, 256-8, 282-6; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 29-37, 62-3, 87-94, 98-9, 196-7, 306-7; Alexander, *Stones*, pp. 111-9; Koester, *Jugoslavia*, pp. 41, 75-6; Baerlein, 'A Few Words', in *Caravan Rolls On*, pp. 9-10. Significantly, the Gordons use the adjective 'Serbian' to describe Adriatic islands (in *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, pp. 221, 227).

⁷¹ Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 60-1, 65-71, 93, 227-33; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 112-3, 248-53, 287-8, 289; Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. 23, 91-5, 197-203. Amongst many examples, see also O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, pp. 154-62; Newman, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 27-39, 85-7, 96; Forman, *Rumania*, pp. v-vi, 9-12, 50-1, 61, 135-42, 245-6; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, pp. 6, 25, 34-7, 167-190, 215, 239, 251-4; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 116, 151-64; So methodical is Sava's survey of Bulgarian history, art and customs in *Donkey Serenade* that the book seems little more than propaganda dressed up as travel (see above all pp. 113-6, 140-54, 252-71).

the regime benefited, or was likely to benefit, from western European influence. Secondly, even if shortcomings were found, then travel writers often resorted to the various methods of excuse formulated by the war generation. Their continuing tendency to locate all problems in the past, to pass them off as European-wide problems, or else to blame them on vagaries of foreign interference,⁷² shows how readily the British were prepared to exonerate the new states, and to deny that political instability or economic malfunctioning might require outside assistance. In fact, the real antithesis of western ideals of political and cultural practice, as a third point, continued to be located elsewhere in Europe. After hostility to the Central Powers eased in the 1920s, and before the antagonism to Germany and Italy rose in the 1930s, the full significance of the Russian revolution began to make itself felt amongst those engaged in continental travel, usurping for a while the position that Germany held for most of the first half of the century.⁷³ In the face of such profound otherness as Bolshevik Russia, the impression of political conditions in the Balkans was of regimes entirely to be commended.

Alongside this disavowal of interference, there were significant doubts expressed about the kind of influence on the Balkans that closer ties with the West would generate. On the one hand, this involved an inevitable mistrust of the spread of western modernity into the region. With many travellers having journeyed there expressly for its cultural distance from 'civilisation', the thought of progress supplanting the enforced backwardness of colonial rule was a cause for abhorrence, and added a certain vehemence to the critique of civilisation found in their writings. This might simply mean

⁷² For instances of the first, see Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, p. 190; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 233; Weir, *Balkan Saga*, p. 117; Spaul, *Rumania*, p. 34; Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 188. For the second, see Forman, *Rumania*, pp. 28, 229; O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, p. 103; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, p. 93; Durham, *Tribal Origins*, pp. 163-4, 177, 179, 252. For the third, see Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 162; Spaul, *Rumania*, p. 31; Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 245; Lavrin, *Jugoslav Scenes*, p. 11; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, p. 187.

⁷³ On Bolshevik Russia, see Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 9-10; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 87, 89; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 122; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 70-1, 157-64; Forman, *Rumania*, pp. 113-6; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, p. 106; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, pp. 59-61, 70. It is now Russia in which the western traveller hears reports of cannibalism, a country that, demonstrating again the wider usage of what is termed 'colonial discourse', indicates 'all that is vague, chaotic and formless in us' (see Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 149, 168). Starkie and Sitwell report rumours of cannibalism amongst the gipsy populations of Hungary and Romania respectively (see Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, p. 23; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. iv, 32). John Reed, a communist, took a different line on the Russian Revolution: see *Eastern Europe*, pp. 77-8.

an occasional dig at 'the bowler hat, indiarubber collars, and bad teeth' of the homeland, but often entailed sincere, and sweeping castigation of the whole military-industrial complex of western capitalism; Graham, for example, condemned 'a materialistic age all given over to thoughts of war', Edmunds denounced 'the sordid existence of thousands of workers in [...] dreary manufacturing towns', and Loughborough bewailed the certain entry into the Balkans of 'those dreadful giants of materialism and greed'.⁷⁴ On the other hand, and more significantly, the inter-war generation was fully cognisant of the West's failures as self-appointed judge and arbitrator of Balkan affairs. Such awareness properly began in the war, when volunteers on the ground, influenced by the particular national perspectives of the indigenous populations, began encountering the abject deficiencies not only of the national borders drawn up for the region by the Great Powers from the Treaty of Berlin onwards, but also of the West's woefully inadequate military and diplomatic engagement. Napier, for example, ascribes Bulgaria's entry on the side of the Central Powers to British diplomatic bungling, Durham is adamant on the West's incompetence in drawing up the Albanian-Montenegrin borders, and just about every volunteer in Serbia condemns British procrastination on the eastern front, a procrastination which meant that Serbia, fighting alone, 'sacrificed the lives of thousands of fine soldiers'.⁷⁵ This criticism of British foreign policy continued unabated in the 1920s and 1930s, as Durham's work would illustrate. Writing on the methods of Empire, she comments on how 'these so-called civilized Powers will starve millions, and bomb helpless crowds, in order to obtain land and supremacy,' so brutally, indeed, 'that the much talked of intrigues of the East are child's play compared to the plans built by the West.'⁷⁶ The refrain was taken up by many other travellers, with Sava, for example,

⁷⁴ Gordons, *Luck of Thirteen*, p. 179; Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. 82; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 232; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, p. 142. Amongst abundant instances of critique, see Henry W. Nevinson, *Fire of Life* (London: James Nisbet/Victor Gollancz, 1935), pp. 27, 292; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 65; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, pp. 2-5, 114; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 22, 95, 136, 148-9, 160, 223-4; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 162, 228-32, 255; Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, pp. 38, 109, 122. Anon is mildly critical in *Journey*, pp. 9, 12-3, 24, 40-1, 54.

⁷⁵ See Napier, *Experiences*, p. 244 ('How the Powers had bungled this Balkan question!', Napier also exclaims: *Ibid.*, p. 165); Durham, *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 159-60; and Askews, *Stricken Land*, p. 327. In a common sentiment for the period, Stobart condemns what she terms the 'system of world government' that had facilitated the First World War, particularly the Great Retreat: Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 5, 7-8, 128-9, 265, 311-5, and Stobart, *Miracles*, pp. 132-4.

⁷⁶ Durham, *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 202-3. Durham was always infuriated by what she called 'the wreckage of dead Empires' in the Balkans (Durham, *High Albania*, p. 12). For her social criticism after 1914

writing that the Great Powers in the Balkans have 'from time immemorial' been 'gambling with the peasants' lives for the sake of political prestige,' Ellison condemning the nineteenth-century 'alliance with the Turks', and Ball even critical of British colonisation of Vis, claiming that 'whether the happiness of the people increased [...] seems doubtful.'⁷⁷ It was not that Victorians had failed to utter criticism, but rather the inter-war criticism was deeper and more ubiquitous, building up to intimate that western expansionism in the region was now utterly unacceptable. When its practice was addressed directly, the West was seen as an adversary, not as a source of salvation for the Balkans: the romanticising patterns of inter-war representation evoked a region that, with its beauty, contentment, tight social structures and inter-communal harmonies, had absolutely no need of any alteration, assistance or outside influence.

This underlying hostility towards western expansionism was compounded by the presence in British travel writing of a certain idealism about south-east Europe's political development. Travel writers were not just angered by the imperial oppressions of Balkan history, and hostile to any signs of contemporary Western interference, but concerned that outside mismanagement would not recur in the future, and several arguments were cited that might lessen that possibility. The first was what could be termed the dream of Balkan Federation, the notion of combining the various states into a single economic and military unity, and by doing so gaining the Balkans some sway within Europe, the region no longer being a collection of small, peripheral states in thrall to the European power base. The idea had an actual precedent within the region itself - the short-lived "Balkan League" that emerged in 1912 and countered the traditional Ottoman *divide et impera* with a military front which - in one fell blow - abruptly terminated five centuries of

(particularly of western diplomacy and its effects on the Balkans), see *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 61, 214, 273; *Tribal Origins*, pp. 177, 179, 301. For her social criticism of the pre-war period, see *Land of the Serb*, pp. 4, 29-30, 259, 284; *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 14, 25-6, 103-4, 335-6; *High Albania*, pp. 9-10, 96, 175, 246-8, 275, 347-8; *Struggle for Scutari*, pp. 37, 87-8, 296-7, 304, 316.

⁷⁷ Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 141; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 70; Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 41. On western control in the Adriatic, Ellison says, 'The mean way the big Powers took these gems of the Adriatic from one another, with no other right than might; how they just opened the shop-door as it were, and took possession, reminds one of the present-day bandits who are helping themselves to the contents of the jewellers' shops'; she concludes, 'It is not [...] for us foreigners to interfere in the politics of the Balkans' (Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 215, 246).

Ottoman rule.⁷⁸ Although the alliance broke down with the Second Balkan War, its practical and symbolic resonance was not lost on travellers. It was already present, for example, in Napier's thinking during the First World War: viewing the region's essential geostrategic problem as external hostility, rather than internal conflict, his idea is for the states 'to unite [...] to preserve their independence', a unity he variously terms 'a Balkan "bloc"', 'Balkan Alliance' and 'Balkan League', and while finally claiming the idea was 'too optimistic' he remains convinced that it could have overcome both Turkey and the Central Powers.⁷⁹ The notion of resisting Great Power intrigue through collaboration is continued after the war. Bernard Newman, not the most appreciative of inter-war travellers, found cause for optimism in the integration of several ethnicities in Yugoslavia, and wonders whether a looser federation could be formed which included Bulgaria, the two being 'kindred nations', as he sees it, who together might 'become one of the Great Powers of Europe [...], an empire stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.'⁸⁰ This was a vision of real empowerment, not of subordination to western Europe. To the same end, Rhodes believes unity is a 'Slav ideal' which offers a 'felicitous future', Durham urges that the Serbs and Albanians combine to 'keep the foreign intruders from the Balkan Peninsula', and Sava argues 'that a federal Balkan State is the crying need', even wondering whether the united peoples offer an 'example of unification [which] may be followed by the whole of Europe' and which could 'lay the foundation-stone of the United States of Europe'.⁸¹ The theory might have been idealistic, but marked a

⁷⁸ For a short account, see Pavlowitch, *History of the Balkans*, pp. 197-8. Pavlowitch later summarises the attempts in the region to surmount differences, including national schemes like 'the Yugoslav idea, various forms of Balkan cooperation [...] Balkan leagues and ententes, but also the grass-roots feelings of solidarity shown by all the Balkan volunteers who joined in the Greek War of Independence and in the Serb risings of the Eastern Crisis'; he concludes, '[t]he Balkan peninsula extends across a zone of fault lines that is also one of passageways and crossroads' (Ibid., p. 337). On the 'Balkan League', see also Jelavich, *History*, pp. 97-8, and Glenny, *Balkans*, pp. 226-7.

⁷⁹ Napier, *Experiences*, pp. 194, 10, 20, 29, 36, 10, 194.

⁸⁰ Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 182, 197.

⁸¹ Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 178, 39; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 276; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 133, 154. For other examples of the traveller's sense that collaboration was both possible and desirable, see Baerlein, 'The Serbian Woman', in *Travels without a Passport: Second Series*, p. 73; Baerlein, 'Vignettes of Travel', in *Caravan Rolls On*, pp. 71-6; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 142, 235; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 169; Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 250-1; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 65-6; Gordons, *Luck of Thirteen*, pp. 184-5; Weir, *Balkan Saga*, p. 234; Forman, *Rumania*, p. 185; Waring, *Serbia*, pp. 116, 199-200; Askews, *Striken Land*, pp. 18-9. So enamoured of Balkan unity is Henry Nevinson that it enters his dreams: during a treatment of morphia, taken for a tropical illness, he has a

tremendous conceptual break with the past, based as it was on conviction that all the qualities once denied to the Balkans States - unity, order, progressiveness - could and should be deployed to save them from future imperial encroachment.

While it should be said that proponents of Balkan Federation were not in the majority, the argument usefully demonstrates the paths along which the new paradigm was heading, and shows how that paradigm facilitated intervention into ideas of Balkan subordination. A similar ideal to emerge from the period, and which emerged from a greater number of travel writers, was the breaking down of political divisions between east and west Europe (rather than of the inter-regional divisions addressed by the theory of Balkan Federation). This was a style of representation which directly evoked the established conceptual division in order to undermine it, and which could be achieved in several ways. Firstly, there was an emphasis on the links, rather than distance, between Britain and the Balkans: O'Doneven's comparisons of Slav and British disposition, Forman's comments on the Romanian love of English sports, Newman's typical reminder of the British-Serbian war alliance, as simple examples, set up the two regions not as poles but as variants of the same cultural outlook.⁸² Secondly, such frequent comparisons by the traveller of the home and host culture often disfavoured the former, or at least refused to denigrate the latter. To choose from numerous instances, Ball's claim that Balkan 'family ties are [...] stronger than they are amongst most English people', Footman's analogy between Balkan barbarity and British behaviour during World War One, Leslie's contrasting of 'sordid' Welsh villages and the 'white villas' of Bulgarian miners, and Colville's comment that '[y]ou are just as likely to be attacked by bandits in

vision in which 'my narrow bed became the familiar Balkan Peninsula, now beautiful, happy, full of glorious reminiscences, and requiring only some delightful rearrangement, in which no one would be assassinated; but Ferdinand, Tino and Venizelos should smilingly combine for the common good' (Nevinson, *Fire of Life*, pp. 343-4). The desire for Balkan collaboration was an extension of the traveller's location of unity in the region: see my Chapter 3, pp. 142-5.

⁸² O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, p. 146; Forman, *Rumania*, p. 145; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, p. 172. This follows on from my section concerning the establishment during the First World War of British-Serbian relations in my Chapter 3, pp. 154-61. For further instances from the inter-war period, see Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 24-5, 126-7, 149, 189; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 134-7, 140-2, 150, 181, 187-8; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 224-5; Brown, *Dalmatia*, pp. 161-2; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 288; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 192, 213, 264; Spaul, *Rumania*, pp. 18, 48; Weir, *Balkan Saga*, pp. 63, 71, 112-3, 147.

Camberwell [...] as you are in Constanza',⁸³ each questions and problematises any dichotomy between the two parties. Lastly, there was the straightforward declaration of similitude, a claim which, whatever travellers' hostility to western mores, constructed the peoples of the two sides of the continent as fundamentally the same - with the same needs, aspirations and - it was often inferred - the same political rights.⁸⁴ So it is that one reads of Footman's discovery that Yugoslav youth were 'exactly similar [...] to those of their age all over Europe', the Gordons' realisation in Sarajevo that 'Humanity, after all, only differs in details', Lane's idea that '[t]he stuff of humanity is always the same', and in particular Stobart's desire to see 'all human kind in one united nation.'⁸⁵ In one way, this was old-fashioned Victorian humanism; in another it had analogies to a strand of modernist thought which pursued the reconciliation of binaries, that process of 'superintegration', or of drawing together culture's apparently irreconcilable dichotomies, which in the Balkans, with its merging of east and west, as well as of 'new and old, high and low, rich and poor,'⁸⁶ had a potent symbol. This notion of similitude, I should add, did not mean that the south-east European states should be constrained to act according to western mores, but that they should be allowed the western privilege of

⁸³ Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 184; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, pp. 97-8; Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 181; Colville, *Fools' Paradise*, p. vi. See also Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 11; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 270; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, pp. 5-6; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 61; Weir, *Balkan Saga*, p. 173; Lyall, *Balkan Road*, p. 204; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, p. 161; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 180, 197, 227. Such comparisons are also found in the war memoirs: see Matthews, *Experiences*, p. 22; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 62. One could also include here the Balkan criticism of Britain that was now admitted into the texts: see, for example, Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 131; Newman, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 48-9; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 15, 159; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, pp. 236-8; Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, p. 48; Forman, *Rumania*, p. 44; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, pp. 35, 39; Gordons, *Vagabonds in Albania*, p. 250. These include the discovery, in Leslie's *Where East is West*, that 'the common term for being sea-sick in Bulgarian is "speaking English"[214].

⁸⁴ The point was further developed to overtly political effect in the Cold War era; see Chapter 5.

⁸⁵ Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, p. 60; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, p. 67; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 207; Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 310.

⁸⁶ James McFarlane, 'The Mind of Modernism' in Bradbury and McFarlane, eds., *Modernism*, p. 92; Yovitchitch, *Pages*, p. 113. Forster's epigraph to *Howard's End*, 'Only Connect', is usually cited as evidence of this trend; McFarlane uses the more interesting comment, from Strindberg's *To Damascus*, that life should be a process not of "either ... or," but [of] "both ... and" ('The Mind of Modernism', p. 88).

evolving in their own way; Durham wanted 'for them [the] liberty to develop each on their own natural lines'⁸⁷ - most travellers would have agreed.

Unfortunately, that liberty would never be won by travel writers. Whatever the build up of counter-hegemonic suggestion within travel writing, it has to be said that the various threats that south-east Europe faced in the period were underestimated, even unrecognised, by far too many commentators for oppositional writing to be effective. The main danger after the war was domination by that western European system of indirect military, political, and economic control which, in an early instance of neo-imperialism (and in a manner repeated some seventy years later) did indeed spread east after the dissolution of political borders in Europe. Here, complimentary representation failed to put any weight behind a self-determining Balkan peninsula, and failed absolutely. Travel writers might have argued all they liked for Balkan independence, but - as Misha Glenny shows - the surplus of world agricultural produce in the period, and the region's inability to compete industrially with the West, drove the states to massive borrowing in order to slow the decline in national income, their economies falling under the control of western investors, and at times reduced to the level of subsistence; 'the Balkans were much more tightly integrated into the global economy,' Glenny comments dryly, 'without possessing the skills or resources needed to survive it.'⁸⁸ It is undoubtedly true that the images of the Balkans that travel writing set in motion have an uneasy relationship to such calamity. The production of a new style of knowledge does not necessarily indicate an end of old forms of power, and it could well be argued that the post-war paradigm formed a perfect vindictory narrative for the type of rogue dealing by which western neo-imperialism operated in the region. The idealised

⁸⁷ *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 104. It was in a similar sentiment that she said of British rule in Egypt: 'Any one with any spunk would rather go to hell his own way than be chivied to heaven by such odiously superior beasts' (Durham, *Balkan Tangle*, p. 214).

⁸⁸ Glenny, *Balkans*, p. 425. He quotes an economic historian who reports that by the late 1920s 'foreign capital accounted for 50-70 per cent of the financing of the economies ... Foreign participation was even higher in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia: in the former case 72.3 per cent of the national debt and 48 per cent of equity capital was owned by foreigners, while for Yugoslavia the respective shares were 82.5 and 44 per cent' [425]. See also Hösch, *Balkans*, pp. 162-3; and Pavlowitch, *History*, pp. 266-8. Okey remarks: 'Far from becoming independent economic units in their own right the states of the region merely exchanged the tutelage of Austro-German capital for that of Western Europe and America' (Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 167).

representation of landscape and community, with its 'cheery peasants',⁸⁹ and the evocation of an unchanging, ahistorical Balkans, which demanded erasure of contemporary political actualities, effectively denied the poverty and political discontent being caused by entrance into a western centred global market.⁹⁰ This is especially true when mention was made of the former rule of 'the unspeakable Turk',⁹¹ as the Ottoman Empire came to be known. In what could be a classic example of colonial discourse, the textual combination of wretched past and positive present might well infer authorial justification for the Balkans passing into the western sphere of influence.

The point gains urgency when considering travel writing's response to the direct interference in the Balkans of Nazi Germany during the 1930s. The economic depression that had crippled the Balkan economies had, in Weimar Germany, brought to power a dictatorial regime what would in time prove far more menacing to Balkan stability. One of the major objects of Hitler's territorial ambition was eastern European mastery, for the purposes of securing the Axis flank for the assault on Russia during the war, but more importantly for facilitating access to the region's sizeable agricultural output. As a result, the 1930s had already witnessed a steady growth in Germany's influence in the region, all backed up, in the usual colonial manner, with persistent denigration of the eastern European states, the representation of their 'defective social structure, [...] point[ing] the need for German leadership'.⁹² Crampton relates that well before 1939, the Reich had tied the eastern European economies closely to its own, both through the exchange clearing system, which pinned export to central bank deposits, and through 'provid[ing] a market for their agricultural goods when no one else seemed prepared to buy them'.⁹³

⁸⁹ Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, p. 143. Anon terms them 'contented people' (Anon, *Journey*, p. 41).

⁹⁰ Exceptions to this would include Swire, *Zog's Albania*, p. 22; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, pp. 70, 279; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 61, 64-5, 68, 100, 170, 217; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, p. 57; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, p. 125; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 18, 28; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, p. 301.

⁹¹ Durham, *Land of the Serb*, p. 15.

⁹² Okey, 'Central Europe/Eastern Europe', p. 121.

⁹³ Richard J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 37. So great was central European influence, that Pavlowich argues that '[e]xcept for Albania, which was Italy's, the Balkans were more or less included in the Reich's *Großraum* by 1938' (Pavlowich, *History*, p. 271). In the Yugoslav case, Pavlowich goes on to write: 'The war increased dependence on the Reich and created difficulties for the economy. By 1939 over 50 per cent of exports went to, and 50 per cent of imports came from, Germany. Emergency measures caused inflation. The cost of living rose in 1940, when the harvest, inadequate even for the home market, had to go to

Once war had broken out, German influence was quickly exacerbated: Bulgaria and Romania found their economic and foreign policies wholly regulated by Germany, and large swathes of Yugoslavia and Albania were administered either directly by central Europeans or indirectly by puppet collaborators. And whatever its overriding sentiment, the romantic paradigm failed to deliver any challenge to such western hegemony (which continued, unmenaced, until the rise of communist resistance in World War Two).⁹⁴ Criticisms of Italian and German encroachment there were, as I have mentioned, but such criticism arose in only small sections of only a small number of travel texts after 1935. At the same time, the notions of both Federation and of Unity were never pronounced enough in either period or individual text, the critique of civilisation not sufficiently systematic and, most importantly, the economic and political crises in the region far too concealed beneath a welter of fanciful romanticisms, to enable a fully oppositional discourse to emerge from the genre. If representation does not properly and at length engage with an injustice, it seems fair to say, then it risks perpetuating that injustice.

On a more general level, complimentary balkanism suffered from the simple fact that, as Terdiman accepted, while '[c]ounter-discourses inhabit and struggle with the dominant which inhabits them [...] their footing is never equal'.⁹⁵ It would take much more than sentimental primitivism, in other words, to terminate the abuses of western European involvement in the Balkans. It may certainly be the case that resistance to power is possible, as I wish to discuss in my closing section, and it may even be the case that some forms of discourse are less amenable to the facilitation of power than others: the idealisation of the Balkans, and the concomitant critiques of the West, undoubtedly

Germany. The dinar was devalued in relation to the mark. The price of bread soared' (Ibid., p. 307). See also Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History*, pp. 461-465.

⁹⁴ In this, it failed to form the effective site of resistance it openly desired to be. Inter-war travellers were fully aware of the political implications of complimentary representation, just as many Victorian travellers were aware of the implications of negative forms of conceptualisation (see my Chapter 2, p. 89). For example, Ellison seems happy to see herself as propagandist for Yugoslavia: 'How is it [...] this country is so little known. Is there not a quicker and more satisfactory method of advertisement than the recommendation of the returning traveller? Alas, Yugoslavs make no secret of their intense dislike of propaganda. Yet in this commercial age advertisement is all powerful! Each nation and each man is his own propagandist, and the louder he "cries" his wares the better is he appreciated' (Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. viii).

⁹⁵ Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, p. 18.

formed a problematisation of traditional balkanist discourse. But finally a more capable counter-discourse was needed than anything evolved in the modernist period.

An aspect of inter-war representation that does suggest problematisation, rather than a straightforward facilitation of western European power was the mutation that occurred in British constructions of the self. As I argued in Chapter 3, there are two features of self-construction in travel writing which hold central importance to any study of power. Firstly, autobiographical ideas of the self always reflect the forms and levels of power operating within the text (the Victorian self-image, for example, reflecting their texts' approval for national domination), and secondly that such ideas of the self are often the point from which those forms of power emerge, the concerns of the self having primacy during the journey over those of nation.⁹⁶ If one accepts the point, then the study of self-construction should further clarify our understanding of power- knowledge in the period, for these were, in general, a radically different set of travellers. Rejecting the domineering stance of past generations, the inter-war traveller displayed a gentler, politer, more sympathetic identity, a sort of contrary Englishness that in turn impacted both on the type of political relationship between Britain and the Balkans which their texts advanced, and on the style of balkanism they pursued. I shall be concerned here with outlining this new persona, before going on to analyse not only how it effected power, but also the remuneration it offered the traveller.

The analysis of autobiographical scripting during the modernist period will be pursued with reference to two wider theoretical frameworks, both of which - with a slight modification on my part - shed light on this new-fashioned traveller. The first is Paul Fussell's classification of the West's journeying, or the westerner's response to abroad, into exploration, travel and tourism. He defines exploration as the journey to chart the geographically unknown, an 'athletic, paramilitary activity' that stretched well

⁹⁶ See my Chapter 2, pp. 91-3. In a wonderful summary of such concerns, Francesca Wilson talks scathingly about 'the love of excitement and adventure, the itch to meddle in other people's affairs, the nostalgia for foreign countries and for increased scope for one's powers, which drive the British abroad, to administer either their own Empire or a small slice of somebody else's' (Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 40).

into the nineteenth century; tourism is the journey to enjoy the geographically known, 'discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared [...] by the arts of mass publicity'; and travel, in between the two, is the journey through the geographically known in pursuit of newness in the self: a sort of inner journey that Lane, Hall and Thornton do much to exemplify.⁹⁷ To condense the two latter journey types, one could say that the traveller is the modernist, concerned with epistemology and revelation, the tourist - as MacCannell writes - 'modern-man-in-general.'⁹⁸ The only thing to mar these undoubtedly useful categorisations - apart from their lamentable construction around the male - is their insistence that any individual traversing a foreign locale should be defined by a single category, a rather belated essentialism that not only relies on foundationalist notions of the self, but which also produces the arrogant and misleading binarism of traveller/tourist that has informed discussion of the subject. I would argue rather that these notions of tourist and traveller are not individual human types but - quite simply - qualities *that reside and conflict within the single selfhood*. The point was already made by Paul Edmonds, a British traveller in Albania and Montenegro in the 1920s. Despite opening his discussion with a statement close to Fussell ('[t]he tourist travels for amusement, the traveller because of some urge within him that cannot be resisted'), the distinction collapses when he applies it to himself, finding that his desire for comfort is more evolved than he had hoped, and wishing - in short - that he 'had less of the tourist and more of the traveller in [his] composition'.⁹⁹ To attempt a difficult generalisation, what one finds in pre-war travel writing on the Balkans is the death of the energetic, aggressive narratives of exploration, that still informed early twentieth-century treatments of the region, and the emergence of a generation torn by this very split

⁹⁷ See Fussell, *Abroad*, pp. 38-9. He attempts to equate the three journey types with historical moments - the Renaissance, the 'bourgeois age' and 'our proletarian moment' respectively - although admits this is problematic. In the Balkans, for example, Edith Durham still typifies 'exploration' in the early twentieth century.

⁹⁸ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, new ed. (1976; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 1. On the same theme, he later adds 'that tourism is the cutting edge of the worldwide expansion of modernity' [184].

⁹⁹ Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 1, 3. Edmonds does not theorise about the two qualities, but his manner of discussing them leaves one in no doubt as to their status as behavioural traits rather than individual types. For example, when faced with the luxuries of Corfu he 'became the complete tourist'; after a long journey he feels 'the tourist side of [his] nature was uppermost'; and when faced with particularly primitive accommodation he finds himself '[p]utting off the tourist and putting on the traveller' (Ibid., pp. 137, 179, 180).

between tourist and traveller - between the materialist desires of the 'modern' and modernist inner exploration.¹⁰⁰

The second framework I wish to deploy - from Syed Manzurul Islam's *The Ethics of Travel* (1996) - expands upon this notion of self-rupture, and helps to delineate exactly how the narratorial positions affected representation and power. In contrast to Fussell, Islam attempts a codification of the travelling selfhood around two modes of journeying, what he terms the 'sedentary' and the 'nomadic'. The first is an inflexible mode which aims to construct 'a rigid boundary' between self and other, and which reconstructs that otherness in the representational practices of the text; the second, which exchanges the 'rigidity' of sedentary travel for a kind of 'suppleness', 'impels one to come face to face with the other' and, in foregoing 'the paranoia of othering that represents the other in relation to oneself', comes to challenge both a cultural 'boundary and an apparatus of representation'.¹⁰¹ No doubt the formulation is a little too neat to be wholly practicable. Like Fussell's binaristic construct of tourism and travel (which these categories closely match), the dualism of sedentary and nomadic travel is more usefully viewed as a conflict within the single self than as a division of character types, a conflict which during both the journey and the scripting of that journey produces the supremacy, not the sole residency, of one or the other. At the same time, what Islam locates as the nomadic traveller's desire to consummate genuine cross-cultural exchange can be regarded as fantasy. The difference of a complex host culture, and the situatedness of any traveller within his or her culture of origin, are never properly overcome during long residencies abroad, let alone during periods of travel, and the nomadic traveller's dream

¹⁰⁰ This hybridity is compounded by the fact that traces of exploration remain in the modern traveller - not least the class element of the pursuit, travel very much retaining the elite, rather aristocratic aura that hung around exploration. This is one reason why the nostalgia for travel one finds in a critic like Fussell is unpalatable. Grewal comments on Fussell's retention of modernism's elitist attitude to tourism in *Home and Harem*, p. 95. Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczowska also stress that tourism, travel and exploration are set in a definite hierarchy which 'operates to distinguish degrees of commitment, levels of danger, and the values of the experience that accrues'. In this, 'the 'packaged' and largely inauthentic experience of tourism', the only experience available to most, is placed a long way behind adventure (with its 'raw and meaningful encounters') and travel (with its 'unplanned and insouciant procedures' (see Curtis and Pajaczowska, "Getting There": Travel, Time and Narrative', Robertson, et al, eds. *Travellers' Tales*, p. 202).

¹⁰¹ Islam, *Ethics of Travel*, p. vii.

of pure contact, just like the sedentary traveller's wish for absolute preservation of former selfhood, should be finally considered unrealisable.

Yet on the level of intentionality, Islam's matrix of sedentary and nomadic travel offers a productive way of talking about dominant modes of travel to the Balkans, both about the Victorian processes of self-maintenance in the face of the other, and about what it was that post-war travellers *believed themselves to be achieving* in opposition to that process. As I touched upon in relation to Lear, the long nineteenth-century was one in which the British traveller, with what James Buzard called their 'clustering tendency' abroad,¹⁰² stuck either with British colonies and British co-travellers or with the indigenous upper classes, the circles in which Englishness could be unproblematically maintained. It was as a consequence that John Reed, for example, could berate the way 'the English [...] cling stubbornly to their way of living in all countries and under all conditions'.¹⁰³ Indeed, as it developed alongside the expansion of empire, the primary function of Englishness, with its decency, forbearance, industriousness, its racial arrogance and practical good sense, was to protect the travelling or exiled selfhood from that very present danger of dissolution inherent in cross-cultural contact within the *imperium*. In the modern period, however, a good number of travellers, certainly those journeying through the Balkans, exhibit a very different approach to abroad. Identification with the home culture did not vanish,¹⁰⁴ but dominant forms of Englishness are reduced as the modern negotiates new-style identities and new-style approaches to the cross-cultural relationship. Before going on to look at how these identities helped to both facilitate the new representational paradigm and undermine western power over region, I would like to give some attention to the exact form it took. I have already

¹⁰² Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 87.

¹⁰³ Reed, *War in Eastern Europe*, p. 103. 'It is really amazing', the Earl of Cardigan exclaims in *Youth Goes East*, 'how some Englishmen manage to retain their characteristics, even in a completely foreign atmosphere' (Cardigan, *Youth Goes East* (London: Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, 1928), p. 175). Patmore partly explains it by commenting on how '[s]ome English people when they travel are content to meet the members of their own Legation or Embassy, any compatriots who may be living abroad, and possibly the outstanding social figures of the country' (Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 22).

¹⁰⁴ For expressions of traditional Englishness, see the self-representations in Newman, *Albanian Backdoor*, Cardigan, *Youth Goes East*, Colville, *Fools' Pleasure*, Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, Lyall, *Balkan Road*, Graham, *Moving Tent* and the Gordons' travelogues. This type of narrator usually 'others' the Balkan region.

indicated the travellers' spiritual outlook above.¹⁰⁵ The following are their other major attributes, all of which demonstrate to a greater or lesser extent the 'suppleness', the outward-going element, that was taking over self-construction.

The first characteristic is the very manner in which the inter-war generation were so consistently and self-consciously *travellers*: that is to say, individuals in which the travelling sense predominated. The pronounced aim was 'to travel independently and humbly', as Colville put it, to seek 'adventures' and 'unusual occurrences', and above all to distinguish oneself from the habits of the 'Plain Man', the British tourist, who 'together with a herd of fellow-simpletons' is 'shepherded round' seeing only 'glimpses of things [...] which an illustrated guide would have shown equally well.'¹⁰⁶ Indeed, so momentous did independent travel seem, that an air of aestheticism, even fetishism, came to surround the simple act of movement. In place of the Victorian's industrious, purposeful, goal-orientated journeys of exploit and discovery there developed the decadent notion that travel, stylishly and languorously performed, was a considerable end in itself, a sort of 'travel for travel's sake', to borrow Stephenson's term, that paralleled the 'art for art's sake' of Wilde and his associates.¹⁰⁷ A sense of the outlook is found in the work of Henry Baerlein, a prolific writer who travelled widely through the Balkans in the inter-war period. In prose of slightly strained precocity, Baerlein's vignettes of remembered journeys evoke the random experiences thrown up by travel as choice moments of heightened experience and structured beauty more real than the banalities

¹⁰⁵ Along with the texts analysed in the last section, see Stobart, *Miracles*, pp. 20-1, 70, 134; Abrahams, *Balkan Log*, p. 189; Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 131, 201-6; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 222-3, 236, 316; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 1-2, 184; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, p. 213; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 79-80, 116, 138, 197; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 44-5. Even arch-rationalists like O'Doneven, Footman and the Gordons at times feel that there is more to life than just the material: see O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, p. 6; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, pp. 241-6; Gordons, *Luck of Thirteen*, p. 228.

¹⁰⁶ See Colville, *Fools' Pleasure*, pp. v-vii. The 'traveller's' self-portrait is one that tends to 'champion the 'traveller's' spirit that resists the degradations of sensibility endemic to the modern world. Spenglerian gloom alternates with celebrations of the individual (usually the author) who can show himself (always *himself*) to run against the current of his time, to resist determination by the culture of his unfortunate age, to rest 'beyond culture' in Lionel Trilling's sense of the phrase' (Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 335). Buzard's strict gendering of the traveller is not always suitable.

¹⁰⁷ R.L. Stephenson, quoted in Sonia Melchett, *Passionate Quests: Five Modern Women Travellers* (London: Heinemann, 1991), p. 6. Durham also refers to herself as 'merely travelling for travelling's sake' (Durham, *Lands of the Serb*, p. 24); Graham claims that 'wandering - just vagabondage itself - was the first object' (Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. viii).

encountered at home, claiming, for example, “that in our travels there are many things of more importance than the destination”, and “that to travel is an end in itself, beautiful as a bridge is beautiful, and not merely because it takes us from one side to another.”¹⁰⁸ These moments of heightened significance were not only to be found abroad. ‘Of course there is a good deal to be said’, he writes,

for those explorers who do not believe that profitable travelling involves one’s transference to foreign countries [...]. That other kind of traveller, the connoisseur who is a picker-up of unconsidered trifles, will be able to bring back from a journey between Oxford Circus and the Marble Arch a more valuable booty than many of those who have let their bodies be conveyed through a score of countries.¹⁰⁹

The passage illustrates the close relationship that inter-war travel writing often had with the avant-garde. On the one hand, the traveller here was the decadent *flâneur*, sensitive, apart, aloof, conflating ‘the casual eye of the stroller with the purposeful gaze of the detective’ and finding fascination in the ‘perversity, paradox and perplexity’ of the metropolitan locality; on the other, the traveller seems less related to the morbidity and weary immorality of the Decadents, and their ‘escape from the world into artifice’, than to the wonder, and constant revelation of modernist travel.¹¹⁰ Baerlein commented in one travelogue that ‘[t]he one dead thing which can for a few moments struggle back to life is the dead poet who inhabits most of us’;¹¹¹ for him, as for Hall, Thornton, West and so

¹⁰⁸ Henry Baerlein, *And Then to Transylvania* (London: Harold Shaylor, 1931), p. 96; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, p. 38. See also his condemnation of ‘those idle men who think that the most proper journey is the straightest line between two points’ and his reflection, in the same work, that “‘Are those not the happiest of travellers for whom all the roads are equally alluring?’” (Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 248, 62).

¹⁰⁹ Baerlein, *Travels without a Passport: Second Series*, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ John Rignall, ‘Benjamin’s Flâneur and the Problem of Realism’, in Andrew Benjamin, ed., *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 114; Suzanne Nalbantion, *Seeds of Decadence in the Late Nineteenth-Century Novel: A Crisis in Values* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), p. 15; Thornton, *Decadent Dilemma*, p. 21. Paul Valéry gives a concise sketch of the Decadent as ‘a sort of intellectual animal ..., without attachments, a traveller without regret, lonely without remorse ..., capable of anything, scorning everything’ (Valéry, quoted in Fokkema and Ibsch, *Modernist Conjectures*, p. 17). *The Flâneur* (1994), edited by Keith Tester, is an excellent study of the eponymous figure.

¹¹¹ Baerlein, *Transylvania*, p. 155.

many of their contemporaries in search of spiritual existence within the modern world, this was only achievable through travel.¹¹²

Baerlein's reification of the traveller as an actual or potential 'poet' had a wider significance. In a manner that did reflect one of the Decadent mores - what Alfred Carter considered their 'excessive, bookish culture'¹¹³ - the typical travel writer of the 1920s and 1930s was an individual of not inconsiderable literary enthusiasm. The Yugoslav travelogues of Lovett Fielding Edwards are pertinent here, not only for illustrating this side of autobiographical selfhood, but also for showing the several ways it presented itself. On the one hand, the author's depictions of his researches into native literature and art, as well as of his meetings with local writers and artists, does as much to evoke an erudite, well-read authorial persona as to imply an artistically vigorous region, the latter a part of his wholesale advocacy of Yugoslav nationhood.¹¹⁴ Similarly, though Edwards is not the best example of this, there is also the frequent self-consciousness with which he and his generation approached their own literary endeavour, a topic I shall pick up below.¹¹⁵ Finally, and most importantly, there are the kinds of analogies Edwards drew

¹¹² For other evocations of the self as 'artist tramp' (Alexander, *Wanderings*, p. 17), or instances of distaste for tourism, see Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 1-4, 159-60, 241-2; Gordons, *Vagabonds in the Balkans*, pp. 86-91; Graham, *Moving Tent*, pp. vi-viii, 17-8, 24; Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, pp. 54-5, 299; Conway, *Ride through the Balkans*, pp. 15-21; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. ix, 8, 29. See Thornton's vagabond image in *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 134, 157, and his distaste for meeting other westerners abroad in *Dead Puppets Dance*, pp. 72-3, 76-7. He sums up the twin poles of tourist and traveller nicely: 'Travel Agencies will map out your itinerary and arrange your accommodation, but they cannot arrange the sort of journey that I wanted to make' (Ibid., p. 12). Two wonderful instances of the traveller as *flâneur* are found in Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 331-40, and Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 17-9. It is rare for a travel writer of this period to assist the casual tourist, or to refer to him or herself as a 'tourist': for examples, see Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 144, 185, 216-31, and Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 49-50, 82 (at other times, Edwards establishes himself as traveller: see Ibid., p. 220; *Danube Stream*, pp. 48, 110-11, 155; *Wayfarer*, pp. 7-8).

¹¹³ Carter paraphrased in Thornton, *Decadent Dilemma*, p. 33. Many of the inter-war travellers were novelists (Stephen Graham, Rebecca West, Rose Wilder Lane, Bernard Newman), or else moved in literary circles (for example, Benson knows Alec and Evelyn Waugh, Patmore knows Charles Morgan, and Nevinson knows John Masefield and John Galsworthy: see Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 6, 157; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 81; Nevinson, *Fire of Life*, pp. 242-4).

¹¹⁴ Amongst the abundant examples of the author's interest in Yugoslav art, architecture, literature and song, see Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, pp. 55, 63-4, 162, 168-9, 200, 241; *Danube Stream*, pp. 40, 83-4, 216-7; *Wayfarer*, pp. 95, 117-20, 150-1, 167, 198-9, 233-4.

¹¹⁵ See my pp. 223-4. For self-consciousness in Edwards, see *Wayfarer*, pp. 1-2; *Danube Stream*, pp. 201, 237.

between features sighted in the travelled environment and those of the world of art - a village scene like 'a Diaghilev ballet', for example, a hotel room 'jointed [...] like a cubist drawing', or furniture that resembles 'a van Gogh picture with the mange.'¹¹⁶ There was nothing necessarily new about this; allusion to literature and art was common in Victorian representation, and while also helping to evoke a perspective on the Balkans, it symbolised the difficulties the encultured self - formed and framed by nineteenth-century Britain - had found in crediting the full reality of a culture so distinct from their own. As Edwards exemplifies, however, the range of reference during the inter-war period is wider, and considerably more sophisticated. Beyond a few inevitable references to the *Arabian Nights*, his Yugoslavia is perceived through the fictional landscapes of Scott, Coleridge and Swift, of Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, Wells's *Country of the Blind*, Sinclair Lewis's *Free Air*, Jaroslav Hasek's *Good Soldier Schweik*, to Bocklin's 'Island of the Dead', of Stravinski, Rimsky-Korsakov, Rembrandt, Tintoretto, Correggio, El Greco, as well as of Diaghilev, van Gogh and the Cubists.¹¹⁷ Taken alongside his work on native cultural production, here was a clearly artistic persona, moving as comfortably through avant-garde currents of European art, literature and music as through the canonical work of Eng. Lit., and - reflecting the age's return to superstition and spirituality - appreciating realms of imaginative experience removed from Enlightenment reason.

As such appreciation would suggest, much of the overt, intransigent masculinity which characterised Victorian male travel in regions like the Balkans was also on the

¹¹⁶ Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 83, 111, 111. For other examples, see Durham, *Balkan Tangle*, pp. 12, 44; Forman, *Rumania*, p. 34; Conway, *Ride through the Balkans*, p. 170; Gordons, *Luck of Thirteen*, p. 118; Gordons, *Vagabonds in Albania*, pp. 220-1; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, p. 23; Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 281; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 113. Befitting travellers' faith in the region, the Balkans are now as real, or more real, than the West: see Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, p. 93; Sandes, *Autobiography*, p. 38; Forman, *Rumania*, p. 182; Koester, *Jugoslavia*, pp. 11, 26; Ball, *Dalmatia*, p. 62; Yovitchitch, *Pages*, pp. 54, 60.

¹¹⁷ For the *Arabian Nights*, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 10, 136; for Scott, see Edwards, *Danube Stream*, p. 59; for Coleridge, see Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 19; for Swift, see *Wayfarer*, p. 115; for Poe, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 70, and *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 211; for Wells, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 185; for Lewis, see Edwards *Wayfarer*, p. 214; for Hasek, see Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 211; for Bocklin, see *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 221; for Stravinski and Rimsky-Korsakov, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, pp. 102, 214; for Rembrandt, Tintoretto, Correggio and El Greco, see Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 111.

decline in the inter-war period. After its excesses of the Great War,¹¹⁸ masculinity's brash self-confidence, competitiveness and aggression became surprisingly scarce for an autobiographical genre which, after all, takes the conquering, enduring ego as its very *raison d'être*.¹¹⁹ An interesting illustration of my point is the autobiographical selfhood of Edmonds's *To the Land of the Eagle* (1927). Although his experience is mainly of Albania, that prime stamping ground of Victorian malehood, there is none of that overt quest for adventure and domination one finds in a Brown, Best or Le Queux, more a sense of responsibility, a sensitivity, an awareness of one's cultural intrusiveness and a range of mild, unassuming behavioural codes which the more belligerent Victorian male would have considered irredeemably effeminate. Edmonds's meditation on tourism and travel in his opening pages already hints at such a character: in contrast to tourism's arrogant adherence to British custom, the traveller 'is more interested in people than scenery', regards his or her status abroad as that of 'the guest' and 'behaves accordingly', and generally attempts 'to live as far as possible as the natives do'.¹²⁰ Although Edmonds admits failure in this regard,¹²¹ the sense of decency and discretion one receives from the passage is reinforced by the rest of his text. Edmonds turns out to be a rather gentle proof-reader and painter, who has 'the skinniness [...] associated with the artistic professions'[84], is 'unused to strenuous walking exercise'[36], is happier 'writing and sketching'[205] than pursuing more masculinist pastimes, is sensitive to local custom, though deplores the killing of lambs and kids and the local fondness for hard liquor, cares less about pitting himself against native dangers than receiving '[a] friendly smile, a hand-shake and a welcome'[31] and whose luggage, in an unforgivable breach of masculinity, exchanges the gun so typically carried by the Victorian for a pair of 'pyjamas and a comb'[34].¹²² The result should not be considered, banally, as a

¹¹⁸ Dawson makes the point that the First World War did something to question imperial models of maleness, 'detaching the cathexis (or charge of emotional excitement) from the idea of war and rendering the soldier a figure of irony' (Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 151).

¹¹⁹ To take issue slightly with Mark Cocker, the fact that travel's dominant 'literary expression is a work invariably narrated in the first person singular' is as much to do with the masculinity of travellers as their 'vehement individualism' (see Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 4).

¹²⁰ Edmonds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 1-2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 33, 34-5, 98-9, 137, 179.

¹²² His profession is suggested on *Ibid.*, p. 51. For his dislike of masculinist pursuits, see pp. 208-22, 274; for his quickness to tire, see pp. 71-2, 89; for his interest in art, see pp. 155-6, 244-5, 277; for his sensitivity to local custom, see pp. 98-9; for his distaste for slaughter and liquor, see pp. 20, 59, 67-8, 71.

feminine male but something rather more complex, more hybrid, involving a merging of masculine elements - whose existence his very choice of Albania would imply - with a range of feminine qualities.¹²³

This rejection of overt masculinity has important parallels to the wider breaking down of gendered identity that defined the era of modernism. As Makiko Minow-Pinkney contends, 'the two trends [of] feminist aesthetic and modernist aesthetic' constitute, with their twin assaults on fixity, binarism, patriarchy and the masculinism of realist poetics, 'the two faces of a single awareness and concern,'¹²⁴ and though travel writing may not have been the most high-brow forum for the topic, it nonetheless formed one more site for the investigation and disavowal of Victorian patterning that was emerging in modern literary and political culture. Certainly, the exploration of gendered identity appears more salient when one turns from a male writer like Edmonds to the work of female contemporaries. Mary Morris has pointed out that the act of both physical travel, and the scripting of that travel, was traditionally opposed to all that the Victorian woman was taught to value, a fact that Morris says made '[w]oman's literature [...] mostly a literature about waiting, and usually waiting for love'.¹²⁵ In the late nineteenth century, however, the increasing number of travelogues produced by British women - Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird, Anne Blunt - began a violation of this rigidly proscribed male sphere, and by the First World War the transgressive female journey to and interaction with foreign location were dealt with in a determinedly political manner. For example, Stobart's relief work in central Serbia, described in *The Flaming Sword* (1916), is reproduced less as an emblem of British-Serb co-operation than as a symbol of

On the topic of guns, their frequent mention during the nineteenth century eases; only Cardigan and O'Doneven claim to possess firearms (Cardigan, *Youth Goes East*, pp. 116, 127; O'Doneven, *Skillet of the Balkans*, pp. 83-4); others tell their readers they are unnecessary: see Newman, *Albanian Back-door*, p. 11; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 12-3.

¹²³ For other examples of the male traveller's demasculinisation, or rejection of masculinism, see Colville, *Fools' Paradise*, pp. 41-2; Newman, *Albanian Journey*, p. 60; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 151-2; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 49, 76, 213; Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, pp. 50, 126; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 34, 37, 99, 161, 192-4, 323. Sava's narratorial character is of interest here, above all his helpless reliance on a Bulgarian guide: see *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 16-7, 30-5, 70, 91-2, 216, 220.

¹²⁴ Makiko Minow-Pinkney, *Virginia Woolf and the Problem of the Subject* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), p. 14.

¹²⁵ Morris, 'Women and Journeys: Inner and Outer', in Kowalewski, ed., *Temperamental Journeys*, p. 25.

the women's ability, even duty, to actively participate in public life. With militarism being the product of men, who 'regard battles as magnified football scrums', it is the urgent responsibility of that sex to whom '[t]he care of life, before and after birth, has been given by God' to enter the 'enlarged sphere [and] also protect the abstract life of humankind'.¹²⁶ The real pleasure of the memoirs of Stobart, Sandes and Matthews is the palpable joy they communicate about their freedom to both enact new identities and further women's role in the world, as indeed is the significance of much post-war women's travel writing. After reflecting on herself and her female companions for the Albanian trip, Rose Wilder Lane paints a glowing portrait of what she calls 'the new woman born of the war':

You find her everywhere in Europe now, managing far-reaching enterprises swiftly and well. She speaks two or three new languages, she crosses nations as casually as she used to cross the street, her eyes are wise, and there is humour in the corners of her lips. She is usually pretty, always good-looking and well-groomed. She dresses well without caring for dress, like a business man [...]. She smokes a little, drinks a little, knows a great deal, and keeps her nerve and her head. Europe might be dotted with stones marking the dead careers of men who, cut off from all accustomed associations and common standards have "gone to pieces," as we say. The modern girl keeps her integrity, does not disintegrate.¹²⁷

Despite Lane's clear idealisation of the masculine, her questioning of established identification and experiment with new ideals of selfhood again result in a hybrid form of identity. As the volunteer work of Stobart, Paget, Wilson and their generation demonstrated, the carrying out of activities associated with the male were always linked with a maintenance of the compassion, imaginativeness and concern more associated with the feminine: if '[m]ilitarism is maleness run riot', Stobart declared, then it was

¹²⁶ Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. 315-6. Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938) is perhaps the finest expression in the first half of the twentieth century of the connections between masculinism and war.

¹²⁷ Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 17. She adds, 'I wondered whether she is the pioneer of a new, free, strong breed of women for whom the younger generation of men will grow to be a match [...].' Lane's portrait is very close to Marianne Dekovan's: speaking of the era 1880-1920, the latter depicts the "New Woman" as 'independent, educated, (relatively) sexually liberated, oriented more toward productive life in the public sphere than toward reproductive life in the home' (see Dekoven, 'Modernism and Gender', in Levenson, ed., *Modernism*, p. 174).

surely not the business of the woman to just 'encumber herself with legacies of male traditions'.¹²⁸

The very modernist strategy of challenging boundaries, and resisting entrenched dualisms, was not restricted to attacks on gendered identity. The transgression of cultural or racial boundaries was also present in the work, and reflected modernism's willingness to seek out the cultural other in order to formulate alternative patterns of behaviour and perception. On one level, the shift away from the rigid, inward-looking journeys of the Victorians arose quite simply from the more gregarious nature of inter-war travel, with travellers like Thornton, Edwards and Baerlein, disinclined to associate with other Britons, and frankly uninterested in the military and commercial concerns that had driven their forebears, seeking fulfilment instead in the very cultural exchange their forebears had so successfully shunned. And the result was not that different to the behaviour of a purely English circle abroad: day trips, picnics, parties, late-nights and genuine friendships became a common occurrence in the 'contact zones' of south-east Europe. The representation of such cross-cultural friendship is touchingly shown in Henrietta Leslie's *Where East is West* (1933). The journal recounts a motor tour around Bulgaria, the nation Leslie claims to 'love best in Europe', and whose 'wild romantic landscape' and 'people who entertain and delight'¹²⁹ often lead her to effusion. This is particularly so during her recollections of Bulgarian women, as the description of a travelling companion, the 'adored Lia'[104], exemplifies:

A blonde woman with masses of honey-gold hair, which, regardless of fashion, she wears piled up on top of her head in rolls and puffs, blue-eyed, round-featured, she has always reminded me of an attractive young lioness. Full of kindness and good-humour, with a consuming interest in life and her fellow-creatures, a passion for travelling, an

¹²⁸ Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. vii, 3. For other pertinent passages on the topic of gender, and new roles for women, see St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, pp. vii-viii, 2-4, 25, 120, 289-90, 307; Stobart, *Miracles*, pp. 11, 83, 92, 106, 115, 117, 130-1, 135; Sandes, *Autobiography*, pp. 9, 12, 82-7, 194, 216, 220-1; Wilson, *Portraits* pp. 48-9; Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, pp. 10, 57-8, 93; Matthews, *Experiences*, pp. 1, 58-60, 63-4, 72, 109-10, 136, 173; William Holtz, 'Prologue' to Lane and Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia*, p. 8; Martin Conway, 'Introduction' to Conway, *Ride though the Balkans*, pp. 23-6; Nevinson, *Fire of Life*, pp. 344-5.

¹²⁹ Leslie, *Where East is West*, p. 18.

exceptional gift for languages, and a habit of borrowing expressive words from one, when she is speaking another - that is Lia.[67]

What one finds here, and in the other sociable journeys of the period, are individuals rather than racial stereotypes. Like her husband - a 'brilliant' Bohemian [67] - Lia is not simply construed as a metonym for her national group but awarded a highly distinctive character, a distinctiveness symbolised by her contempt for rules (both of language and fashion) and emphasised by her demonstration of all those traits - virtue and strength, kindness and curiosity, education and attractiveness¹³⁰ - that in the West were signifying Lane's 'new woman born of the war'.¹³¹ The relationship that Leslie and Lia establish is one based on mutual affection, itself a great improvement on the Victorian treatment of hired companions, as well as one in which the westerner - lacking the cultural knowledge of the indigene - is at times subordinate, Lia being 'the perfect mother'[104] and Leslie her 'naughty little girl'[69], petted, protected and always loved. Leslie's construction of the self includes nothing unusual for a twenty-first century reader, but is astonishing indeed when recalling Victorian expectations of supremacy, and indicates an autobiographical shift from the detached and parochial Briton, rigorously maintaining the codes of the homeland, to the cosmopolitan ideal, a travelling selfhood well-known and well-loved by the locals.¹³²

¹³⁰ Attractiveness is an important feature of Leslie's representation of Bulgarian womanhood. On her friend Beata, with her enchanting smile, Leslie writes 'If I were a man, I should fall in love with her at once'[151], and at a Turkish bath she 'had nothing else to do than to sit dreamily gazing at my fellow bathers', whom she considers 'a beautiful type of womanhood, with their ivory-tinted skin and their large, brown eyes, like the eyes of gentle kine'[69]. Clearly, we are a long way from the 'savage other' here.

¹³¹ After the nineteenth-century projection onto the Balkans of mysogyny and patriarchal oppression, the inter-war idealisation of the region included a far more positive interpretation of the female lot in the region: for example, see Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 173-4; Garnett, *Balkan Home-life*, pp. 9-11, 177-8, 254-6; St. Clair Stobart, *Flaming Sword*, p. 115; Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 12-13, 266; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, p. 32.

¹³² As a measure of how far travellers had moved from Victorian detachment, many actually express love for places or people in the Balkans: see Baerlain, *Bessarabia*, pp. 5, 232; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, p. 96; Parkinson, *Twenty Years*, pp. 5, 23; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 37, 55; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 18, 81, 151; Hall, *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 87, 135; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, p. 237; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. 10; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 136; Marie, 'Preface' to Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. xi, xiii; Krippner, *Quality of Mercy*, p. 55.

On a more complex level, the British traveller's sociability is constructed in the text as a more active seeking out of the other, a sort of attempted merging with, or integration into, the cultural mores of the travelled environment.¹³³ There are a number of ways through which this was felt to have been achieved. The first could be described as an extensive participation in autochthonous cultural traditions, a pursuit that Lane's activities amongst the northern Albanian tribes, for example, has already done much to illustrate. Secondly, there was the erotic encounter, something which was absent from Victorian and Edwardian travelogues on the Balkans (apart from the very rare spot of flirtation), and which Benson's experiences as a woman in inter-war Albania, Turkey and Yugoslavia offer the most poignant illustration.¹³⁴ Lastly, and most interestingly, there was what one can only describe as an attempt at psychological union. In a process that reversed the nineteenth-century fears of atavism, and reflected what Islam termed the 'performative enactment of becoming-other',¹³⁵ the traveller believed that he or she could erase the unwonted assumptions, codes and practices of the home culture through sustained, and entirely idealistic immersion in the other. This was the most extreme form of attempted integration, though the kind of quality that drove a traveller to such a fantasy was naturally bound up with the qualities of curiosity, sociability, imagination, with the female traveller's move to assertion, and the male traveller's rejection of masculinism.

A good example of psychological merging is found in *Raggle-Taggle* (1933) by Walter Starkie, a professor of languages at Trinity College, Dublin. The journal details what the author calls his 'gypsying in the east of Europe', a walking tour through Hungary and Romania in the late 1920s in which he attempts to shed respectable existence and live life as 'a vagabond minstrel'.¹³⁶ Although Starkie is often ironic about his efforts, the journey - as with so many others during the period - is a genuine enough

¹³³ Cocker also notes this in *Loneliness and Time*, writing that '[o]ne of the most commonly repeated patterns in the lives of travellers is some degree of personal transference to the cultural identity of the people whose lands they wandered' (Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 45).

¹³⁴ Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, pp. 50-1, 67-8, 218, 254-6. See also Wilson, *Margins of Chaos*, p. 24; Conway, *Ride through the Balkans*, p. 176; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 225-7; Baerlein, *Transylvania*, pp. 209-229; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 47-62; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 14-8, 24-6, 118-25, 199, 334-5, 341-4.

¹³⁵ Islam, *Ethics of Travel*, p. vii.

¹³⁶ Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. 257, 27.

quest for another side of the selfhood to prevail, a freer and more honest side than that prevailing in the West. In the author's discussions of the subject, the binary of vagabondage and civility, like Fussell's travel/tourism or Islam's nomadic/sedentary travel, often plays a part, and are again considered as two competing facets of the single selfhood, vagabondage being an activity that can usefully disrupt one's civility, 'with its toga of respectability, its duties to the common weal, its self-conscious mediocrity.'[6] As Starkie puts it, 'The vagabond side of my personality is an element of discord entering to destroy the solemn harmony of a life well spent in a scholar's toil.'[7] This blunt reversal of the Enlightenment preference for order over chaos, again evoking the modernist search for individuality via flight from profession and community, is repeated in the locale of the journey. Here, the vagabond is contrasted to the 'ordinary tourist', a symbol of order and conformity ('each thinking the same thoughts, eating the same food, putting up at the same wonderfully efficient hostels') whose company entails the 'sacrifice [of] individuality' and must be shunned in favour of such elements of chaos as 'outcasts, Picaresque knaves [and] Gypsy vagrants', amongst whom freedom is to be found.¹³⁷ Starkie's attempt to seek out their company, and thus connect with his 'vagabond side', forms the narrative thread of the text. The tale begins with the author, dressed as a vagrant, awkwardly taking up his fiddle on the train journey east, and playing Italian airs for tips. The rehearsal being a success, a more confident Starkie feels no disquiet about consorting with the gypsy café orchestras, itinerant musicians and peasant audiences of Hungary and Romania, and after a few weeks of this life of the road, particularly during performances of gypsy melodies, with their vertiginous 'rhythms that bewitch and hypnotize'[21], he feels himself reach a point at which his old personality is erased. As he explains it,

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 8, 29, 29, 29-30. Starkie defines the tourist, or the touristic side of the self, as 'a bloated snail, a traveller with his household goods on his back, crawling on his belly through the world'[8]. His thoughts on the uniformity of tourist and tourism come during a meeting with some Austrian hikers in Hungary, when the author has a sort of vision of what would soon become the touristic world of the post-1950s. The full passage runs, 'The Austrian hikers made me feel depressed, as though I had strayed into a future age when all Europe would be crammed with hikers in khaki shorts carrying rucksacks on their backs, travelling along the roads in thousands, all singing the same rollicking outdoor songs which they have heard on the radio, thinking the same thoughts, eating the same food, putting up at the same wonderfully efficient hostels'[29].

When I first started out I found the ways long: my feet were sore and the heat exhausted me; my thoughts were still attached to my life of conventionality and I felt that though I had put on the costume of a vagabond I had not yet become one. It was only by calling repeatedly on my vagabond personality that it came to me. And as soon as it came my whole attitude towards life began to change: I felt light-hearted and the road became full of interest. I had the sense of being absolutely free from the anxieties of life, of having sloughed off my old soul and finding a new one full of wonder like a child's. [205]

The reference to *childlike* wonder is crucial. Like his revaluation of discord, Starkie turns the familiar accusation of puerility or immaturity often hurled at the Balkan other into an emblem of positive virtue in the self, of a spontaneity, vitality and seemingly epiphanic freedom that has somehow got lost amongst 'the grim realities of modern city life'[6]. This state of immediacy, solely available to those who 'allow their hearts to become childlike again',¹³⁸ may well be a romantic sentiment, a fantasy unfitting for the postmodern present. Yet on the level of intentionality, such claims are of great importance, indicating a modern self neither styled on the Victorians, immobile in their Englishness, nor pandering to the 'tourist, insulated within his own national capsule',¹³⁹ but grounded in the genuine desire to meet and merge with the other. At the same time, the typically modernist understanding of identity as fragmented, fluid and discontinuous¹⁴⁰ was a crucial step away from the certainties of Victorian self-wholeness, exchanging the notion of stable, enduring identity, which had helped to construct the

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 109. Other Britons had 'become childlike again.' I mentioned Leslie's regression into a 'naughty little girl' above (my p. 216); at their field hospitals in the war, Dearmer and other orderlies regressed into 'school girls' (Dearmer, *Letters*, p. 114) and Stanley became 'a naughty child' (Stanley, *Diary*, p. 55). Walshe's claim that the Serbs are 'a race of brave babies' is tempered by his belief that 'Tommy' was 'a child himself' (Walshe, *With the Serbs*, p. 107). See also Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 96-7; Patmore, *Invitation*, p. 15.

¹³⁹ Hampson, *Enlightenment*, p. 71.

¹⁴⁰ Dennis Brown argues that modernism 'radically probed the nature of selfhood and problematised the means whereby 'self' could be expressed', exchanging 'a model of selfhood which is autonomous, integral and continuous' for a recognition of 'decentred' or fractured self, a result, he claims of social alienation, the growth of psychoanalysis and the horrors of the First World War (Brown, *The Modernist Self in Twentieth-Century English Literature: A Study in Self-Fragmentation* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 1-2). In what stands as a symbol of the split self, Starkie professes to enjoy 'divid[ing] myself into two personalities and mak[ing] the two converse together' (Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, p. 29), and says that 'once you can get into your wanderer personality there is immense joy in conversing with yourself as you walk along' (Ibid., p. 206).

Balkans as an eternal other, for something that is malleable, open to change and open, as Starkie illustrates, to the mores of the host culture.¹⁴¹

It is through the autobiographical selfhood of a writer like Starkie that one glimpses what it was that travellers derived from the new textual personae. As I argued in an earlier chapter, the way one constructs or imagines oneself textually is always connected to forms of desired remuneration, the autobiographer accessing through scripted identity patterns of reward and privilege whose extravagance is not necessarily diminished by the enactment of a less overbearing character. Clearly, the new mode of autobiographical self-construction would suggest that Victorian models of identity and reward - centred around social distinction, personal authority and freedom and adventure for the masculine self - had been greatly reduced in the post-war period. Indeed, if there was any distinction and freedom to be found in the philosophy of inter-war travel it was freedom and distinction from the homeland, a point supported by fact that the partaking in, and advocacy of, forms of national attainment, another reward of Victorian travel, had now almost entirely vanished from travelogues. As far as travellers were concerned, they were individuals, not representatives of Britain,¹⁴² and in true modernist spirit they attempted to sever the selfhood from the beliefs and practices of national culture through experimenting with other, non-dominant identities - in their case, the pre-modern identity of a Balkan culture. This may have reduced the scope for personal domination in the region, and may have also reduced the scope for adventure, the concept remaining only

¹⁴¹ There are many examples of inter-war travellers in the Balkans feeling themselves merge with the host culture; for a variety of degrees, see Alexander, *Wanderings*, pp. 160-2; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 52-3, 59, 75, 207; Thornton, *Ikons and Oxen*, pp. 66-7, 227; Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, pp. 202-3, 260-3; Edmunds, *Land of the Eagle*, pp. 34-5; Marie, *Country that I Love*, p. 150; Graham, *Moving Tent*, p. 244. Hall does feel temporary connection with the Romanian peasants: see *Romanian Furrow*, pp. 97, 104, 224. Such merging was also felt during the war: see Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 289; Sandes, *English Woman-Sergeant*, pp. 114, 154; Davies, *Farmer in Serbia*, pp. 28, 97. Davies's fantasy of being a Serbian boy, entailing the imagined transgression of both culture and gender, is of interest here (see Davies, *When I Was a Boy in Serbia*). See also Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 367, 380, 384, and Durham, *High Albania*, p. 20.

¹⁴² Whereas Brown viewed himself as staunchly British in 1888, commenting on how he was 'loath to discredit our nation' whilst travelling, it was with unconcealed pride that Ellison relates, fifty years later, how '[i]n the eyes of the foreigner I do not live up to our national reputation' (Brown, *Winter in Albania*, p. 229; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 212; see also Ellison's pleasure at being viewed as unEnglish on p. 187).

in the form of inner, psychological adventure,¹⁴³ yet remuneration was still very much in evidence. Over and above the friendships, sexual liaisons and spiritual insights that may or may not have resulted from supple travel, the resultant text put into circulation amongst friends and associates a quite remarkable, and highly performative image of selfhood. Cosmopolitan, worldly, literary, sensitive to both spiritual and cultural experiences, practised in alien customs, enjoying the acceptance and friendship of a second imagined community, this was the travel writer as exceptional individual, one ranking as far above the stay-at-home reader of the travel genre as any of the old heroes of Victorian imperial adventure.¹⁴⁴ I would argue that it was this vainglorious merger of real and (romanticised) implied author that constituted the travel journals' central message.

As cynical as one might be about the dividends of literary travel, the modern mode of self-construction had positive resonance for Balkan conceptualisation, and for the systems of power-knowledge with which the Balkan concept interacted. The modern traveller still required a landscape that could accommodate his or her chosen narratorial persona, and the Balkans, ever the repository for western fantasy, were adopted for the purpose; yet whereas Victorian travellers had formulated a threatening, savage, backward Balkans to set off their capacity for endurance and civility, so the moderns' sensitivity, spirituality, gregariousness, their capacity for wonder and their romantic optimism that believed spiritual insight and personal transformation could result from travel, all required from the travelled environment exactly the kind of romanticism, generosity and mystery their texts constructed. None of these features, of course, had much support to offer for the reintroduction of imperial rule. I discussed earlier how the

¹⁴³ I refer here to how - in travellers like Starkie, Lane and West - the journey through physical space, with its imaginative conquest of a region and its testing and formulation of dominant forms of Englishness, passes to the inner journey, the exploration of psychological space that leads to the discovery and enactment of alternate, peripheral forms of identity. In a parallel shift, the Victorian love of solving mystery remains in the inter-war text, but passes from the solving of mysteries in the physical environment to those in the psyche.

¹⁴⁴ There is an interesting connection here between what Benson, in a modernist age, termed the 'crashing Balkan bore', the one who establishes him- or herself socially through discoursing on Balkan experience, and what Edward Lear, almost a century earlier, called the 'Levant lunatic', the one who journeys into south-east Europe to get away from the beaten tracks of the Grand Tour (see Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 4; Hyman, ed., *Edward Lear*, p. 157. Both attempt to establish alternative or exceptional identity through association with what is viewed as the geographically marginal or wayward.

complimentary mode of representation questioned the assertion of British power over the region; in the self-constructions of the modern traveller, above all in their relationship to the Balkan population, one finds a metonym for the political theories of cross-European unity that this mode facilitated. In place of personal and national supremacy, the inter-war generation enacted the pleasure of a respectful and mutual cross-cultural friendship which both admitted Balkan space and attributed value to that space, feeding into wider textual representations of the region's fully justified independent existence. The quest motif at the heart of many inter-war texts, by placing such enormous value upon the Balkan landscape, encapsulates this problematisation of hierarchy, either by inverting the old imperial plenitude-lack dichotomy, and undermining the kind of self-other binarism necessary to transnational power, or else subtracting the two poles of Europe from binarism altogether - the features of Starkie's ideal vagabond, for example, being neither eastern or western, but simply a range of positive attributes that may have been more present in the east than the west, but were finally available to both. The political implication of such respectful evaluation of the Balkans should be clear: 'It is not [...] for us foreigners', as Ellison summed it up, 'to interfere in the politics of the Balkans.'¹⁴⁵

The reduction of the western travel writer's power over the Balkans is both expressed and symbolised in the writing styles of the period. There was in the early twentieth century a crisis of representation entering intellectual fiction, with not just the industrial/imperial/patriarchal/military complex coming under critical scrutiny but also the very forms of scientific realism and naturalism by which that complex had achieved expression. It was in this way, for example, that the assured, chronological, omniscient narratives of the past surrendered to the self-reflexivity, irony and perspectivism that came to be known as literary modernism. For Said, the break down of narrative and narrator was in part 'a response to the external pressures on culture from the *imperium*', an exchange of the 'triumphalist experience of imperialism', and a prose expressive of 'optimism, affirmation, and serene confidence', for the 'ironic awareness of the post-realist modernist sensibility', which expressed profound doubt about both the world and the writer's place within it.¹⁴⁶ For others, the new currents in literary style were more closely linked to the rejection of patriarchy. As opposed to the masculine, rationalist,

¹⁴⁵ Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 246.

¹⁴⁶ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 227.

hierarchical, sense-making modes of realism, modernism was now the emergence of a signifying practice centred around the 'feminine unconscious', an outpouring of a repressed feminine language which, with 'its "effects of deferred action, its subterranean dreams and fantasies, its convulsive quakes, its paradoxes and contradictions"' determined the formal attributes of the new anti-realism.¹⁴⁷ For Kern, in a more traditional interpretation of the period, modernist poetics were a result of developments within such areas of the national culture as communications, transportation, trading systems, and within military technology and global time.¹⁴⁸ Either way, there was a rupture within the forms of cultural production, and the innovation that criticism usually associates with canonical literature, with its profound commingling of anxiety and revolt, began to enter the travel book.

It would be wrong to claim that stylistic innovation was a significant feature of travel writing during the period, or indeed a feature which has characterised the genre at any time. As a general rule, if innovation appears at all, it appears belatedly, and in a lesser form than that found in the source material. Yet in many inter-war British travelogues on the Balkans, as an example in kind, the scientific style of objective reportage - that nineteenth-century *window* onto the Balkans - underwent moments of considerable precariousness as the travel writer's doubts about his or her knowledge and cultural status emerged and interacted with some of the more innovative poetics of the contemporary fiction. Most evidently, there was a reduction of faith in empiricism, and a frequent exchange of the confident imperial Gaze for an acknowledgement of cultural subjectivity. This had already started with Durham, not always the cocksure ethnologist. 'One race has never yet seen with the eyes of another,' she claimed: 'the perspective of everything, life and modern politics included, depends entirely upon the point from which it is viewed';¹⁴⁹ this non-hierarchical epistemology is reinforced by the profound subjectivism of her claim that analysing Albania 'by a twentieth century and West European standard [...] would be foolish', and that, so varied are the two perspectives,

¹⁴⁷ Dekovan, 'Modernism and Gender', pp. 179-80. The quotation is from Luce Irigaray's *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1985). In a study of Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage*, Jean Radford considers such narrative poetics a part of a conscious 'search for a new, more feminine, form': see Radford, 'Coming to Terms', p. 99.

¹⁴⁸ See Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*. His comment towards the opening, that 'cultural developments were directly inspired by new technology'[6] gives an indication of his approach.

¹⁴⁹ Durham, *High Albania*, p. 20.

'[i]t is perhaps equally foolish to attempt to analyse them at all.'¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Koester writes that the Bosnian landscape 'was so unfamiliar as to be almost beyond my own comprehension', Thornton questions whether 'anybody know[s] for certain what other Nations think', and Edwards claims that anyway a traveller can only ever 'brush the surface of all things lightly'.¹⁵¹ Such doubts about the western Gaze were at times mirrored by linguistic skepsis. Edwards, for example, recalling a moment during one journey in which he surveyed the mountains of central Serbia, is overcome by the complexity of his feelings: 'There are certain impressions', he muses,

that are not susceptible to words. One feels a certain definite emotion but cannot give it literary shape and afterwards can only remember that at a certain place and at a certain time one received an impression that, clear enough in thought, was yet too tenuous for the frailer net of words.¹⁵²

Edwards's 'frail net of words', with its hint of confinement or capture, would go on in the latter half of the century to inform a radical postmodern poetics and equally radical linguistic philosophy, and was certainly no dominant in inter-war travel writing. Yet the self-reflexive turn in Edwards's musings, and a certain self-consciousness amongst his contemporaries generally, were common enough during the period. In what one could consider a defining feature of modernist travel, the writers constantly revealed doubts or misgivings about their own procedures: about the act of physical travel, about themselves as travellers/tourists, and about the final scripting of the journey,¹⁵³ admitting those misgivings in a way that worked to destabilise their texts.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁵¹ Koester, *Jugoslavia*, p. 23; Thornton, *Dead Puppets Dance*, p. 234; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, p. 160. See also Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 173-4; Weir, *Balkan Saga*, pp. 6-7; Anon, *Journey*, pp. 62, 80; Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, p. 4; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 51, 76, 85, 103-4, 140; Lyall, *Balkan Road*, pp. 1, 106; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 283. This epistemological scepticism was already apparent in Jones, *With Serbia into Exile*, p. 310, and Walshe, *With the Serbs*, pp. 21, 185-6.

¹⁵² Edwards, *Profane Pilgrimage*, p. 45. Wilson also comments that words 'are (presumably) a necessary evil, but they have a terrible power of narrowing the things to which they are attached. We accept them placidly as though they were explanations [...]': see her *Portraits*, p. 29; the whole passage (pp. 29-30) is of interest.

¹⁵³ Instances can be found in Lyall, *Balkan Road*, p. 3; Sava, *Donkey Serenade*, pp. 11-5, 22, 34, 40; Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. 69, 282; Cardigan, *Youth Goes East*, p. 222-3; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, p. 131; Leslie, *Where East is West*, pp. 18-9, 127, 192-3, 229-30, 294; Starkie, *Raggle-Taggle*, pp. ix, 33-

The lack of confidence in the western Gaze, as well as the notion of perception and conceptualisation as culturally situated, instigated the appearance in the 1920s and 1930s of the more radical styles of writing that travellers were using to displace objective reportage and its presumptions of a given, knowable reality. One of these involved a series of distinct, albeit delayed borrowings from the techniques and textual postures of literary Decadence. This can be found in two features of travel writing in particular: the selectiveness with which travel writers pursued their depictions of an enchanting Balkan object, and the literary elegance with which they proceeded to adorn that object, combining an unashamedly precocious diction - 'beloved', 'cottager', 'maiden' (either 'pretty' or 'little') - with a scrupulously formal prose. The two techniques worked to denaturalise the medium of language, foregrounding style and representation itself, and investing the Balkans with the same mixture of charm and wistful regret as Decadents like Huysmans and Wilde invested in artificial beauty.¹⁵⁴ This emphasis on the perceiving, annotating subject, rather than the material object, was also central to the impressionistic styles of prose that were entering inter-war travel writing. A forerunner of the high modernism of the 1920s, literary impressionism emphasised contingency and unique momentary sensation over fixed, eternal 'truth', a concentration - in the context of travel especially - on *experienced landscape* over material landscape, or the effects that the physical and human landscape produced in the mind of the perceiver. Lane's depictions of the Albanian mountains (described in one work as 'vaguely beautiful - something as lovely as our waking dreams of lands we shall never see'¹⁵⁵) offer an example. 'I had never seen nor dreamed such mountains', she begins:

Like thin sharp rocks stood on edge, they covered hundreds of miles with every variation of *light and shadow*, and we looked across their tops to a faraway wave of

4; Gordons, *Luck of the Thirteen*, p. 170; Baerlein, *Transylvania*, pp. 19-20; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 126-7. I would argue that discussions of the 'traveller versus tourist' type are also an instance of self-consciousness or self-reflexivity.

¹⁵⁴ The two features are summed up by Thornton as 'the "expression of isolated observations"' (Richard Le Gallienne) and 'l'emploi de mots rares' (R.K.R. Thornton, *The Decadent Dilemma* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 27, 46). For examples of both, as well as the Decadent preference for the low or squalid, see: Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, pp. 53, 155-7; Marie, 'Preface' to *Ibid.*, p. xii; Anon, *Journey*, pp. 12, 28; Gordons, *Vagabonds in Albania*, p. 106; Gordons, *Vagabonds, in the Balkans*, p. 147. See also Nevinson, *Fire of Life*, pp. 44-5.

¹⁵⁵ Lane and Boylston, *Travel with Zenobia*, p. 99.

snow that broke high against the sky. The depths between the mountains were hazy *blue*; out of the *blueness* sharp cliffs and huge flat slopes of rock thrust upward, streaked with the *rose* and *purple* and *Chinese-green* of decomposing shale, and from their tops a thousand streams poured downward, threading them with *silver-white*. A low continuous murmur rose to us - the sound of innumerable waterfalls, softened by immeasurable distances.¹⁵⁶ [my italics]

One wonders how H.A. Brown, or any of the other masculinist adventurers, would have managed to traverse this landscape. With an emphasis solely on colour and mood, Lane organises the mountain-scape as a sensory palette of pleasingly unified hue, the blue balanced by blocks of rose, purple and green, and the dissonance offset by threads of unifying silver-white and by a harmony of light and shade. The passage exemplifies Clive Scott's understanding of literary impressionism as a 'substantival, notational prose', often one in which 'colour tends to exceed the object', and which works to highlight not the solid facts of the external world, but of sensation or 'pure existence', for Lane the specific 'sensation of infinite airiness.'¹⁵⁷ The accent on feeling was common amongst Lane's contemporaries, with impressionism perhaps the most usual of literary borrowings, although other, more advanced modernist techniques were also deployed. Perspectivism, surrealism, delayed decoding, streams of consciousness, even apocrypha,¹⁵⁸ were all drawn in, techniques which - to return to an earlier point -

¹⁵⁶ Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 28.

¹⁵⁷ Scott, 'Symbolism, Decadence and Impressionism', in Bradbury and McFarlane, eds., *Modernism*, pp. 223, 219, 222; Lane, *Peaks of Shala*, p. 27. For other impressionist passages, see Lane, *Ibid.*, p. 47; Hoppé, *Gipsy Camp*, p. 202; Marie, *Country that I Love*, pp. 91-2; Yovitchitch, *Pages*, pp. 79, 139-41; Edwards, *Danube Stream*, pp. 11, 222; Rhodes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 133, 250; West, *Black Lamb*, I, 70. West crystallises the impressionist's mistrust of naturalism in her comment that 'the factual elements in an experience combine into more than themselves' [I, 68]; she also attacks naturalism as a 'fake art' that copies nature without interpreting it' [I, 272].

¹⁵⁸ For perspectivism, see Wilson, *Portraits*, pp. 22-26, 77-81, 95-102; for surrealism, see West, *Black Lamb*, I, 123; for delayed decoding, see *Peaks of Shala*, pp. 26, 220-1, Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. 149, 156, and Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey*, p. 68; for stream of consciousness, see Baerlein, *Transylvania*, pp. 235-7; for apocrypha, see Baerlein's oeuvre, full of doubtful vignettes (for example, *Bessarabia*, pp. 87-97, 126-7, *Transylvania*, pp. 144-5, *Travels without a Passport* (London: Frederick Muller, 1941), p. 8). Ian Watt created the term 'delayed decoding' to label Conrad's impressionistic techniques: see Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 175-179. See also Fussell's analysis of West's surrealism in *Abroad*, p. 36. To adapt the terms by which Cocker discusses Patrick Leigh Fermor's writing, perhaps Rebecca West's extensive, wonderfully erratic

indicated not only an imaginative response to the Balkan landscape, but also that the landscape was, finally, a contrived, extravagant achievement of words.

Crucially, although these innovations maintained British travellers at the very centre of their travelled environment, it also reduced the authority of the travellers to actually elucidate that environment, the vital point I wish to make about literary poetics and power. By indicating that narratorial viewpoint was subjective, culture-bound and consequently limited, textual poetics subverted the old imperial Gaze, and undercut the Victorian notion of the Balkans as a knowable, scriptable body of knowledge, eschewing in the process the major thrust of scientific naturalism within travel writing, the imagined conquest of a region. In this way, style was an appendage of ideology, of that more respectful, politically sensitive approach to another culture, and also an expression of authorial character, reflecting as it did the demasculinised, imaginative, literary nature of a generation determined to accept and explore the actuality of the Balkan other. As something of a symbol of the whole process, there was the inter-war travellers' new deference to indigenous orthography and toponymic designation. As detailed in Chapter 2, the nineteenth century commonly rewrote south-east Europe through imperial designations and transliteration, a form of imagined colonialism that textually re-enacted a very real imperial subjugation of the peninsula. The modern generation took the opposite course. As the most pertinent example, the Victorian and Edwardian appellation of Servia was swiftly altered during the First World War to Serbia, the former's inference of a servile or abject people thereby eradicated. In its trail came a whole host of revisions, with the entire peninsula becoming retranslated back into the original languages (Cattaro to Kotor, Ragusa to Dubrovnik, Scutari to Shkodër) in a way that performed linguistically the region's move to political assertion and post-colonial independence.¹⁵⁹ I do not wish to imply that the Balkans were no longer mediated via

'flights of fancy' could be considered '[i]n the context of travel writing [...] the equivalent of Joyce's interior monologue' (Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 198). There are interesting parallels to be drawn between innovations in autobiography and those of biography in the modernist period: see Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 90-2.

¹⁵⁹ For example, see Ball, *Dalmatia*, pp. 13-4, 185; Alexander, *Stones*, p. 45; Gibbons, *London to Sarajevo*, pp. 10, 164, 189-90; Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, p. 57; Loughborough, *Roumanian Pilgrimage*, p. 85; Edwards, *Wayfarer*, p. xiii; Benson, *Unambitious Journey*, p. 55; Swire, *Zog's Albania*, pp. viii-ix; Patmore, *Invitation*, pp. viii, 89; Ellison, *Yugoslavia*, p. 122; Baerlein, *Bessarabia*, pp. 177-8.

British travel writing, but simply to establish how the conjunction of power and narratorial authority was, if not replaced in the inter-war text, at least greatly reduced.

There are many features - to conclude - that run against the inter-war romanticisations of the Balkans and the Self. These are the dominant conceptual strands and, as with any period, the 1920s and 1930s were not decades of great representational purity. Both traditional Englishness and traditional balkanism, with their binarism and racism, arise within many texts, and there are journals in which they arguably form the dominant. Indeed, even such oppositional texts as Hall's or West's include elements that might be interpreted as denigratory. Yet this is a minority strand in the period, and I would argue, anyway, that discourse analysis should not expect from past representation the late twentieth-century's uncompromising cross-cultural awareness, though that, of course, is the *sub-episteme* within which we work. However difficult the task, one must contextualise a signifying practice within its period, attempting in this way to glimpse something different than a simple reflection or contradiction of our own assumptions. For balkanism, one needs to analyse the inter-war years in the context of the extremity and brutality of nineteenth-century representation, and attempt to understand the achievements of the former in breaking down Victorian norms. If one looks at it in this way, it is a breaking-down of remarkable extremity, though not one which finally managed to challenge the new forms of economic and political power being exerted over the region.

SECTION THREE



1939-2001

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COLD WAR

If there is any text that can be said to enact the transformation of late twentieth-century balkanism, then it must be Georgina Harding's *In Another Europe*. This timely travelogue, depicting a cycle tour from Vienna to Istanbul on the eve of revolution in 1988, somehow captures in mood and signification the remarkable re-emergence of denigration in the contemporary period. Before departure, Harding's expectations are wholly formed by the romanticism still dominant during the Cold War: her notion of Romania is the familiar mixture of tradition and revelation, a place holding both 'the fascination of mystery' and the retention of 'value we had lost in our fat democracies.'¹ After the journey has begun, however, everything alters. The text evokes neither spiritual relief nor rustic innocence, but austerity, ugliness, violence, drunkenness and deplorable poverty. Indeed, the presence of such misery is as confusing to Harding as her final lack of revelation. Frustrated by Romania's failure to live up to preconceptions, too dispirited to linger in Bulgaria, she rushes from the Balkans into Turkey with the bewildering, desolate sense of a train passenger who has missed an intended stop. 'It was Europe I had set out to see,' she writes on arrival in Istanbul, 'not just the end of Europe. My true destination must have been lost somewhere, evaded, unrecognised until it was past [...]. Yet what a relief it was that I had not stopped there and had been carried on to the stations beyond.'² It was with this fearful, dejected response to the region that the current paradigm was initiated.

Although my analysis of this termination of the twentieth century romance with the Balkans will focus on travel writing, it should be stressed that the phenomenon is not limited to the travel genre, but operates within all fields of cultural production. In travel writing, fiction, cinema and the media, the contemporary era has been marked by a

¹ Harding, *In Another Europe: A Journey to Romania*, new ed. (1990; London: Sceptre, 1991), p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

remorseless reinstatement of Victorian modes of signification, with the motifs of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation reassuming command over representational structures in each. The point has been made by a number of commentators, the insights of whom I intent to expand upon. Goldsworthy, for example, concludes from her study of British fictional engagements with south-east Europe that '[a]pparently free from possible imputations of racism, [balkanism] continues to offer up old-style orientalist villains and Westernised heroes.'³ Similarly, Wolff, concluding a study of balkanist travel writing, finds that 'the power of old formulas' has regained control of our 'mental maps of Europe'; Nevena Daković argues that cinematic representations of Balkan barbarism form a 'new image [...] barely distinguishable from the old', and Dina Iordanova agrees that media conceptualisation returns time and again to notions of 'ethnic hatreds', the accentuation being on "cruel slaughter, a meaningless and uncontrollable primitive ethnic strife with numerous victims and few heroes."⁴ In short, so ubiquitous has the negative essentialisation of the region been that a younger generation, unaware of the Cold War's complimentary representation, has only known the region through images of hatred, lawlessness and political instability.

The contemporary paradigm is so persistent and persuasive that it is worth remembering that when placed in the context of past paradigms, with their particular pattern of loyalties and responses, there is no material circumstance which accounts for a return to denigration. For a start, after travellers' eager support for the monarchical

³ Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 212.

⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp. 371, 372; Daković, 'The Threshold of Europe: Imagining Yugoslavia in Film' (http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/CCAUCES/spacesofidentity/Vol_1/_HTML/Dakovic.html), p. 7; Iordanova, 'Shifting Narratives: Representation and Mediation of the Balkan Conflicts', in *Journal of Communication* (forthcoming). Iordanova is summarising the findings of Riikka Kussisto's *Western Definitions of War* (1999). In an example typical of the whole region, Iordanova also says that the only Bulgarian items to appear in the western media are about things like '[m]oney laundering, drug smuggling, trading in arms and heroin' (in 'Media Coverage of Bulgaria in the West and Its Domestic Use', in Fred L. Casmir, ed., *Communication in Eastern Europe: The Role of History, Culture, and Media in Contemporary Conflicts* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995), p. 224). Elsewhere, she writes that in the 1990s, '[t]he Balkans gravitated from a dreary unpredictable outpost of the old Soviet Empire toward a gloomy orientalist fringe of the new Europe. Within a short time, they became more 'other' than they used to be' (Iordanova, *Cinema of Flames: Balkan Film, Culture and the Media* (London: British Film Institute, 2001), p. 9. See also Iordanova's 'Balkan Film Representations since 1989: The Quest for Admissibility', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 18, No. 2 (1998), p. 274.

dictatorships of the 1930s, one might assume 1945 was a more appropriate year for a return to denigration than 1989. Indeed, in official rhetoric, the rise in eastern Europe and Asia of a communist challenge to western democracy, that 'postwar Red Scare,' received 'some of the most bitter [...] antagonisms short of war in modern history,' and produced what the British Foreign Office, in 1948, feared would be 'either [...] the establishment of a World Dictatorship or [...] the collapse of organised society over great stretches of the globe.'⁵ Central to such Cold War rhetoric were the same fears of an enemy empire and a loss of civilisation to chaos that informed both the World Wars and nineteenth-century Empire, and the Balkans were now a part of this terrible other. At the end of World War Two, the communist parties were in the ascendancy across the region, having swept aside monarchical rule through partisan resistance in Yugoslavia and Albania, and through Soviet assistance in Bulgaria and Romania. The new regimes were fortified by election victories in 1945 and 1946, and after a series of purges through the latter half of the decade, were set to install - in Okey's words - a Stalinist future 'free from [the] age-old curse of technological backwardness'.⁶ The peasant landscape so adored by inter-war travellers would never be quite the same again. Extensive nationalisation, collectivisation, industrialisation and urbanisation tore through the traditional social fabric, and, though the 1960s and early 1970s brought the region a measure of consumer comfort, the 1980s found recession, a fall in real wages and finally economic collapse continue to transform the landscape. Yet the intriguing fact is that, as this chapter will explore, the constructions of the regions by British travellers from the 1940s onwards stayed insistently, obstinately romantic.

Indeed, it is only after the 1989 revolutions that the dominant conceptualisation of the region returns to denigration: exactly the moment one would have expected positivity. For a brief time, certainly, British travel writers and reporters responded to the 'springtime of citizens'⁷ with the same delight and optimism that greeted this remarkable intimation of continental unity elsewhere in Europe. Yet the optimism did not last,

⁵ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, new ed. (1987; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 37, 216, 46.

⁶ Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 203.

⁷ Timothy Garton Ash, *We The People: The Revolutions of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague* (Cambridge and London: Granta/Penguin, 1990), p. 149. The phrase, and the book as a whole, captures something of the optimism and enthusiasm that surfaced in what he calls 'that year of wonders' [156].

having been quickly replaced by a mood in which western publics, driven by the media, determined to view the south-east corner of the continent as a zone of barbarism and bloodshed. Again, I would stress that there is nothing empirically reliable about negative essentialisation. Certainly, there have been events which encourage disaffection, not least conflict in the former Yugoslavia, unrest in Albania, economic crises in Bulgaria and Romania, and a stream of news items on orphanages, investment fraud, smuggling and emigration. Yet amongst these, there was nothing that travellers had not valorised or simply overlooked in previous periods. The World Wars, for example, had produced both transnational and internecine conflict in the region, yet these neither triggered the virulent, moralistic condemnation that the Yugoslav crises had nor were used to stereotype the Balkan peninsula as a whole. It might seem the case, moreover, that the Yugoslav wars have been classic instances of Balkan discord and savagery, but the wars involved only a fraction of the peninsula, and also existed alongside a range of durable virtues - compassion, tolerance, civility - that received scant mention in the journalism of the 1990s, despite being a staple feature of British coverage of the region from the Balkan Wars onward. Similarly, the economic disparity between west and south-east Europe was not a predictable target for criticism. The region's backwardness had failed to bother previous travellers, who rescripted it as simplicity, a wholly moral condition, and currently includes in remoter areas patches of traditional culture whose persistence in twenty-first-century Europe is as remarkable as the presence of more extensive pre-modernity in Durham's and West's day, should that be what the traveller wishes to find. Lastly, the real historical comparison that 1989 repeatedly calls to mind is the 1910s, the decade of emancipation from Ottoman tyranny that inspired such a glowing, effusive response from the British traveller. *So why this return to denigration?*

The explanation I shall be exploring is, as with previous periods, the specific forms and alterations of western culture in the late twentieth century, arguing that there have been social and philosophical changes that have made complimentary balkanism - its idealism, revelation, romance and national advocacy - outmoded, and deeply problematic. Without a doubt, the scale of transformation within western societies had reached daunting proportions after the war: computerisation, bureaucratisation, consumerism and the pernicious imagery of advertising, television and the media both penetrated national culture and, via multinational corporations and communications,

gained hegemony in much of the global sphere. 'Everywhere', writes Ricoeur, 'one finds the same bad movie, the same slot machines, the same plastic or aluminium atrocities, the same twisting of language'.⁸ In this standardised and totalizing global network, the possibilities of individual agency have greatly diminished. In academic thinking, there is widespread despair at the processes of enculturation that are seen to trap and mould the individual, a point crystallised in Irvine Howe's apocalyptic definition of postmodernity as 'a relatively comfortable, half welfare and half garrison society in which the population grows passive, indifferent and atomized [...]; and in which man becomes a consumer, himself mass-produced like the products, diversions and values that he absorbs.'⁹ While such despair at social change was not radically different from that felt in modernist times, the contemporary pessimism about the solution certainly was. On the one hand, this was the 'end of ideology', a new form of critical thought, caught up in the scepticism of the era, disbelieving the legitimising narratives of consumer capitalism, but sceptical of all other forms of ideological authority. On the other hand, it was what Connor terms 'the collapse of modernism's prized space of autonomy',¹⁰ a brutal, unconditional level of situatedness from which even physical travel - the inter-war panacea - could no longer find routes to personal redemption.

The arts which respond to postmodernity, driven by the same scepticism that marks theory, have produced some of the most oppositional work of our age. In literature, writers have been less concerned with a celebration of surfaces, as some critics have suggested, than with an exploration of 'the dark side of postmodernity',¹¹ a critical unmasking of the horrors that lie beneath the western image of benevolence, affluence and order. And it is when considering this realm of self-representation that there

⁸ Paul Ricoeur, quoted in Kenneth Frampton, 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance, in Hal Foster, ed., *Postmodern Culture* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1989), p. 16. Bertens makes the point 'that international capitalism and its homogenizing force is the overwhelming fact of the world we live in, so overwhelming that the nation-state, that mainstay of an earlier modernity, has in some cases lost its relevance' (Bertens, *Idea of the Postmodern*, p. 245).

⁹ Howe, from 'Mass Society and Postmodern Fiction', quoted in Patricia Waugh, ed., *Postmodernism: A Reader* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), p. 24.

¹⁰ Connor, *Postmodernist Culture: An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1992), p. 47.

¹¹ Arthur Kroker and David Cook, quoted in Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 223. For the claim that postmodernism celebrates consumerism, see Brian McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), p. 219.

emerges, for students of balkanist discourse, a remarkably familiar set of tropes. Indicative of our language's dearth of cultural signifiers, which has long conflated non-Western territories, postmodernist constructions of the West simply draw upon Enlightenment conceptions of alterity to oppose the western Enlightenment self-image, deploying the motifs and images of radical otherness to construct and condemn the era of late capital to which Enlightenment narratives have led. The contemporary novel's construction of the West, in short, deploys all the motifs traditionally used to denote the cultural other. For example, the trope of civility is frequently exchanged for those of brutality and violence, and a vision of technological civilisation, not as 'utopian *polis*', as William Spanos writes, but as a 'microcosm of universal madness'.¹² The notions of order and progress, similarly, pass to those of poverty, entropy, squalor and degradation, all set in an irredeemably chaotic landscape lacking either order or community. At the same time, epitomising the whole shift, clarity and rationality are replaced by obfuscation, and a paranoia about political misinformation; in Tanner's words, this was a notion of 'society as [...] vast conspiracy, plotting to shape individual consciousness to suit its own ends', with postmodernist texts becoming 'full of hidden persuaders, hidden dimensions, plots, secret organisations, evils systems [...]'.¹³ Indeed, Tanner goes on, in *City of Words* (1971), to find in writers like Burroughs, Mailer and Pynchon the fear of there being an innate, atemporal evil lurking in the United States, a kind of 'Manichean demon at work in the land'.¹⁴

The important point about the negative essentialisation of the West in post-war literature is that, in stark contrast to much modernist writing, the West is not being gauged against some idealised (wholly imaginary) other, but against its own self-fashioning: both poles of the binary lie within the West. The dual consequence of this conceptual shift is, firstly, that the idealised foreign location is redundant in cross-cultural representation, no longer required for the advancement of the author's world view.

¹² Spanos quoted in Waugh, *Postmodernism*, p. 83.

¹³ Tony Tanner, *City of Words: American Fiction 1950-1970* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971), pp. 427, 16. Bradbury also writes: 'The new American fiction was beginning to present a portrait of history and reality [...] not as a place of hope, opportunity, and humanity but as an arena of distorting power plays, vast technological systems, conspiratorial structures, and apocalyptic threats to individual consciousness': Malcolm Bradbury, *The Modern American Novel*, new ed. (1983; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 199.

¹⁴ Tanner, *City of Words*, p. 148. This is part of what he calls 'the sadness and terror of America'[177].

Secondly, the undermining of idealism has been so severe, so wide-ranging, that the idealisation of abroad is, in any case, unavailable as an option. Indeed, in the travel writing emerging from this sceptical intellectual culture, the romanticism associated with the modernist journey has been exchanged for the same styles of denigration that marked commentary on the homeland, with travellers, as if wishing to harrow, to appal, to find relief from the boredom of the postmodern, hunting down the most shocking aspects of their travelled environment. Although failing to contextualise his study in contemporary culture, Spurr makes this point when he writes that the present generation 'tends to favor images of violence' and to expound 'the notion that human chaos and disorder are somehow a natural condition of the Third World'.¹⁵ Similarly, Kabbani, writing on Elias Canetti's *The Voices of Marrakesh*, argues that the present-day orientalist, mirroring the nineteenth-century orientalist, 'provides endless images of poverty, disease, sorcery, superstition and sexuality [...] almost as if his eye were searching out the instances of differentness that he could present an audience with'.¹⁶ As such voyeurism shows, the *postmodern gaze* sees, interprets, masters and condemns according to the cultural scepticism of a hypermodern West, yet creates an interpretative framework similar in all major features to both colonial discourse and today's official political rhetoric, which so often upholds dichotomous, racist modes of perceiving the other. This is the paradigm of the age, tough, hip, world-weary, which in negotiating the traditional duality of home and abroad, brings down the both.

The Balkans, I shall argue, were the exemplary instance of this conflation of postmodernist self-criticism and cross-cultural discourse, a global view as pernicious as that of imperialist binarism.¹⁷ I aim to question the contemporary understanding of the

¹⁵ Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, pp. 165-6.

¹⁶ Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, p. 128. Speaking of Alberto Moravia and Paul Theroux, and the 'ugliness, incongruity, disorder, and triviality' they find in the postcolonial sphere, Pratt locates the same postmodern textual impulses: 'Few pristine worlds remain for Europeans to discover, and the old ones have long since belied the myth of the civilising mission. The impulse of these postcolonial metropolitan writers is to condemn what they see, trivialize it, and dissociate themselves utterly from it' (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 217).

¹⁷ Regarding this conflation, I am struck by Bradbury and Ro's sense of American postmodernity as 'Byzantine and plural', 'extraordinarily mixed in its cultural roots', with a 'history that sickened and infuriated' and a 'social reality dark, oppressive and disorientating' (Malcolm Bradbury and Sigmund Ro, 'Preface' to Bradbury and Ro., eds., *Contemporary American Fiction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), pp. viii, vii, xii, xii). This very postmodernist denigration of the West reflects exactly the nineteenth and late twentieth Balkan concept.

Balkans as a collection of fractious, malevolent entities by exploring the reliance that travel writers have on postmodernist modes of social criticism, the most available representational stratagem in our times, and exploring how these modes resemble the Victorian conceptualisation of the region. It is through such exploration that I hope to measure the extent to which the horror we find there is of our own conceptual imagining. I shall begin the study, in this chapter, by looking at the Cold War period of representation, which I consider the site of emergence for contemporary balkanism, dominated in earlier decades by the romanticisms of Rebecca West and her generation, yet slowly retreating to an ambivalence and disappointment from which present denigration emerged. I shall go on in Chapter 6 to study the forms of that denigration in depth. The chapter will not downplay or ignore unpleasant events in the region, but will aim to place more emphasis on the western constructions and usages of those events than on historical analyses. At the same time, vital comparisons will be drawn between the representational styles of postmodernist scepticism and the official constructions of the Balkans, in which the region is deemed a little piece of Cold War eastern Europe to be retained as the West's other, creating for a younger generation a similar style of alterity to that which their parents had in Soviet communism. 'The iron curtain has gone,' as Wolff writes, 'yet the shadow persists.'¹⁸

The main concern in Chapter 6 is to analyse the material consequences of denigration, and to ask if the motifs of traditional balkanism support political and economic control, as they had done in Victorian times. Spurr argues that the western gaze is imperialism's 'originating gesture', facilitating 'the exploration and mapping of territory which serves as the preliminary to a colonial order.'¹⁹ I shall ask whether the same is true for the postmodern gaze in the Balkans, as the West reacquaints itself with a territory that, after communism, once again lies open to conquest and control.

I have mentioned in an earlier chapter that, in the history of the Balkan concept, there are no sudden ruptures between periods of signification. What one finds are periods of

¹⁸ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 3.

¹⁹ Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 16.

temporally heightened struggle between an established order of motifs, images and evaluations and the interpretative framework that precedes it, a framework typically holding a previously marginal position *within* the established paradigm, and holding an uneasy relation to its representational dominant. Belying the term rupture, in fact, such periods do not properly constitute originality or newness in themselves, but, as the First World War demonstrated, retain a proximity to the old paradigm at the same time as gradually facilitating the initiation of the new. The Cold War was such a period, although differing in one respect from the First World War. Whereas the latter formed the slow ascendancy of complimentary balkanism during the early 1910s, the former witnessed the contrary process: the decline of that paradigm over the larger time-frame of the four decades from 1945 to the late 1980s. The revolutions of 1989, like the rash of memoirs appearing in 1916, may have been the historical moment at which an emergent paradigm came to dominate, but the roots of change lie deep within post-war Europe, in the fluctuations of east/west relations in an era of tremendous tension, but also in the pressures and mutations within the cross-cultural discourse itself. This latter is a notion of balkanism, its norms, ruptures and transformations, not as a logical response to external stimuli but as determined by its own internal illogic.

The reinstallation of romanticism in the Cold War period, it should be said, did not occur directly. The image of the Balkans in the writings that emerged from the Second World War was equivocal and often deprecatory, lacking the unadulterated valorisation that would resurface during the 1950s, a fact that the war itself may have caused. Axis forces had occupied much of the peninsula by the summer of 1941, and the brutal nature of the fighting and occupation, this 'disorganisation of what had been organised' as Pavlowitch calls it,²⁰ had had devastating effect both there and in eastern Europe as a whole, destroying property, disrupting food supplies and inflicting massive losses on military and civilian populations. In Yugoslavia alone, 1.7 million had been killed out of a population of 15 million, and over half the country's livestock destroyed. With the economic infrastructure in ruins, and the cost of German looting amounting to over \$20 billion, the poverty of immediate post-war years was so severe that drought and even famine began to occur.²¹ Yet for the British nationals that found themselves in Balkan

²⁰ Pavlowitch, *History*, p. 330.

²¹ Figures quoted in Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 191.

theatres of war the hardships of the conflict were not the major problem. There was a sizeable number of such exiled Britons: besides the usual diplomats, aid workers and reporters, there were those caught behind lines during German occupation, such as Louisa Rayner and Lena Yovitchitch in Belgrade, and others sent as part of British missions into Yugoslavia and Albania, like David Smiley, Julian Amery, H.W. Tilman and Fitzroy Maclean.²² These were hard-nosed, seasoned militarists, or else civilians hardened by privation, whose memoirs reveal more in common with the Victorians than with the aesthetic wanderers of the 1930s. Undoubtedly, the horrors of war had been visible enough in western Europe to warrant any special aversion in the Balkans, and, in any case, war in itself was no reason to denigrate indigenes, as the First World War diarists had shown. The problem was rather the emerging clash of ideologies, and the realisation that communism looked set to prevail throughout the region.

Maclean's popular *Eastern Approaches* (1949), published during the height of post-war tension, illustrates the ambivalence with which writers approached this 'alien ideology'.²³ Maclean was a brigadier whose task it was, in 1943, to parachute into German-occupied Yugoslavia and discover - as well as supply with munitions and logistical support - the resistance movement most likely to hinder Axis operations. For Maclean, a classically-educated Etonian, a former consular official in the Soviet Union and later a Conservative Member of Parliament, the fact that this turned out to be 'a ragged, battle-stained throng'²⁴ of Stalinists taking their lead from Moscow caused a genuine dilemma. His uncertainty is evident at his first meeting with the head of the Partisans, Josip Broz Tito, a figure about whom Britain knew little.²⁵ One concern is that Tito will resemble the communist functionaries he met in Soviet Russia, with 'their terror of responsibility, their reluctance to think for themselves, their blind unquestioning obedience to a Party line dictated by higher authority, the terrible atmosphere of fear and suspicion which pervaded their lives'[308]. Although Tito proves to lack these faults, his

²² In formulating this new category or period of balkanism, I am making a distinction between war books and books published during the war but which were really about the 1930s, such as West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, Baerlein's *Travels Without a Passport* and Sava's *Donkey Serenade*.

²³ Christopher Portway's phrase: Portway, *Double Circuit* (London: Robert Hale, 1974), p. 22.

²⁴ Maclean, *Eastern Approaches* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), p. 515.

²⁵ Maclean reports that in the week before he first dropped into Yugoslavia, the British military 'were still debating whether Tito existed at all, and, if so, whether he was a woman or a committee' (Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, p. 389).

allegiance to Stalin, desire to establish totalitarian government, and willingness to 'go [...] to any lengths of deception or violence to attain his ends', confirms most of Maclean's worst fears, as does the unwholesome character - 'sly', 'pale', 'conspiratorial', 'fanatical' - of many of Tito's subordinates.²⁶ Such disparaging representation typifies much of Maclean's response to communism. 'Muddle; murder; distortion; deception' [327], he declares, are all 'an intentional part of Communist policy', whose mixture of 'ruthless determination' and 'merciless discipline'[331] often leads to the practice of 'liquidat[ing] anybody who stood in [its] way'[327]. With the motifs of anti-communism - violence, barbarism, obscurantism - being exactly those of balkanism, it is no surprise to find instances of the customary discourse littering the text. The Yugoslav political landscape, for example, 'was truly Balkan in its complexity', the war compounded by the country's 'latent tradition of violence', and the peoples beset by 'treachery, rivalry and intrigue'.²⁷

Yet in awkward conjunction with such denigration, proving itself to be an irrepressible influence on the British balkanist, is a strain of that complimentary representation which had marked British conceptualisation of Yugoslavia since 1914. This is most evident in Maclean's treatment of the (largely) Serbian Chetniks, a second Yugoslav guerrilla band which, led by an officer in the former Royal Yugoslav Army, Draža Mihajlović, desired the restoration of the Serbian dynasty. Considering the Serbophilia of official circles, it is only to be expected that Maclean feels Mihajlović is the natural ally for the right-wing Churchill administration, despite his doubtful military record, and comments on his 'admirable [...] motives'[338], as well as on the comeliness

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 326, 327, 328, 327, 328. Maclean's general depiction of Tito's followers reveals his abiding dread of Soviet communism: 'with the familiar Communist jargon on everyone's lips, the same old Party slogans scrawled on every wall and red star, hammer and sickle on the cap badges of the Partisans, "an observer familiar with the Soviet Union might [...] imagine himself in one of the Republics of the Union"'[334].

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 335, 338, 337. 'In the Balkans', Maclean writes, sagely, 'the tradition of violence is old-established and deep-rooted'[524]. For other instances of denigration in the war memoirs, see Julian Amery, *Sons of the Eagle: A Study in Guerilla War* (London: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 5, 12, 35-6, 80, 118, 163, 202, 267-8, 306 (his binarism is clearest when terming 'England and Albania - the greatest and smallest kingdoms in the world' [122]); David Smiley, *Albanian Assignment*, new ed. (1984; London and Sydney: Sphere Books, 1985), pp. 36, 56, 77, 90, 95-7, 99-100, 130; Robert St John, *From the Land of the Silent People* (London: George G. Harrap, 1942), pp. 22, 23, 30, 91; Charles Thayer, *Hands across the Caviar* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), pp. 21, 106, 147, 197; H.W. Tilman, *Where Men and Mountains Meet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), pp. 108, 110, 116.

of Serbia as a whole, a 'green, sunlit'[496] country which resembles 'an English village green'[485], and in which the peasantry was 'loyal to the monarchy and [...] certainly not communistically inclined'[438]. Yet after his initial suspicion of Tito has passed, it is interesting to find Maclean also projecting positive qualities onto the Partisans. Echoing the representational strategy of the World War One diarists, he imbues the communist resistance with all the characteristics of Englishness, including 'cheerfulness'[484], 'natural friendliness'[326], 'dash and determination'[426], 'rigid self-discipline'[325], 'national pride'[325], 'lack of servility'[316], 'courage'[431], the powers of endurance'[321], and is taken particularly by the way Tito's forces are 'fighting for life and liberty against tremendous odds'[306]. Indeed, he goes so far as to claim that their struggle is conducted with 'the fierce spirit of resistance for which they ['the people of Yugoslavia'] have been famous throughout history'[312], a comment that gives a specifically post-1914 discourse a wholly fabricated pre-1914 existence. At the same time, there was a certain romance surrounding life deep in the war-torn Balkan mountains that Maclean, this "typical John Buchan hero",²⁸ finds irresistible. There are many passages, for instance, in which he can barely conceal his delight as living what he calls a 'patriarchal existence [...] in the forest'[420]:

Next morning we were wakened with a mug of captured ersatz coffee and a mess tin of yellow maize porridge by the bewhiskered Partisan, who, in addition to being my bodyguard also fulfilled the roles of cook and batman. Having eaten my breakfast, I cleaned out my mess tin and used it for boiling some snow-water on the stove, to shave in. It was an agreeably compact mode of life, with no time, space or energy wasted on unnecessary frills. [420]

In such writing, itself eschewing 'unnecessary frills', Maclean approves the positive qualities he feels the region has facilitated in himself - the competence, the simplicity, the masculinist flair, all set off by participation in 'gallant struggle' and 'comradship at arms', a usual combination in these wartime texts.²⁹ It is this kind of approval that produces his

²⁸ Ibid., the words of 'an ecstatic newspaperwoman' quoted on jacket flap.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 517, 53. For other expressions of masculinism in the war memoirs, see Ibid., pp. 323, 358, 386; Thayer, *Hands across the Caviar*, pp. 24-6, 30; Tilman, *Man and Mountains*, pp. 124, 132, 135; St John, *Land of Silent People*, pp. 32-4, 47, 112, 119, 149; Amery, *Sons of the Eagle*, pp. viii, 49-50, 85,

satisfaction at seeing the Partisans finally 'enter[...] the capital as conquerors',³⁰ and that demonstrates the ease with which British Serbophilia could transmute into a love of Yugoslavia, the latter going on to receive some of the most effusive, detailed commentary in Cold War balkanism.

The texts published in or shortly after the war all repeat Maclean's equivocal attitude to south-east Europe. Amery's record of wartime experiences in Albania, for example, Charles Thayer's memoir of life with the Yugoslav Partisans and Archer's diary of aid work in Bulgaria, also combine fondness for the region with a fervent suspicion of the emerging regimes. Moreover, those travelling around the peninsula soon after the war - M. Philips Price, Elisabeth Barker, John Gunther - repeated this fear of communism, as did Rayner and Yovitchitch looking back in the 1950s on their experiences of German occupation; Rayner, for instance, who is unambiguous about her love for Serbia, finds no joy in the communist ejection of the Nazis whilst knowing what kind of 'new master and [...] new epoch were at hand.'³¹ Indeed, the period in which these writers were working was the first Cold War, from 1947 to the mid-1950s, when the East-West conflict hit its first nadir, and the elements of that conflict ('the military confrontation, the hostile rhetoric, the games of diplomacy and espionage'³²) became

91, 105, 147, 250-5, 330-3; Smiley, *Albanian Assignment*, pp. 31, 61, 80, 88, 90; Patrick Leigh Fermor appreciates the 'soldierly directness' which marks Smiley's writing, in his 'Foreword', to *Ibid.*, p. xii.

³⁰ Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, p. 515. Such support for Tito is foreshadowed by a rather symbolic passage in which Tito visits Maclean on the Dalmatian coast and they 'would swim out together, with Olga, Tigger and the bodyguard cleaving the water in perfect formation behind us'[457]. Jelavich notes a delicious paradox in Maclean's later acceptance of a house from Tito: see Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, p. 284.

³¹ Louisa Rayner, *Women in a Village: An Englishwoman's Experiences and Impressions of Life in Yugoslavia under German Occupation* (London: Heinemann, 1957), p. 199. For other expressions of hostility or suspicion toward communism, see Thayer, *Hands across the Caviar*, pp. 47, 55-8, 125-6, 132-4, 150-1; M. Philips Price, *Through the Iron-Laced Curtain: A Record of a Journey through the Balkans in 1946* (London: Sampson Low, 1949), pp. 6, 62, 127-8; Elisabeth Barker, *Truce in the Balkans* (London: Percival Marshall, 1948), pp. 63-5, 72-3, 122-3, 154-7, 251; Lena A. Yovitchitch, *Within Closed Frontiers*, 2nd. ed. (1956; London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1956), pp. 206-7, 231-2, 239-45; Amery, *Sons of the Eagle*, pp. 36, 59-60, 171, 198, 298, 334; Smiley, *Albanian Assignment*, pp. 56-8, 67-9, 77, 137, 159-60. As Smiley mentions, Tilman also had 'little love' for the Albanian partisans (*Ibid.*, p. 93), and although he sees support for them as 'expedient' he views the fact that 'they hoped to form the government of the country after the war' as a shortcoming (Tilman, *Men and Mountains*, pp. 152).

³² Kaldor, *The Imaginary War: Understanding the East-West Conflict* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 35.

institutionalised. These were the years in which the wartime accommodation of Stalinist Russia passed to containment, when the nuclear race began, when US politics swung to the right, when Atlanticism, the Marshall Plan and Cominform carved out spheres of influence in Europe, and when state propaganda, 'one of [the Cold War's] most important dimensions', began producing states of 'mass hysteria'.³³ In eastern Europe, the Cold War not only found its site of emergence, with the division of Germany and the spread of Soviet influence into east Central Europe and the Balkans, but the place that influence achieved its most threatening proximity to the West. Inevitably, the Briton's relation to the Balkans became fundamentally a relation to the 'communist menace', and distance, caution and fear were commonplace.

Yet this situation was not to last. Although strict historical determinism should be avoided, the death of Stalin in 1953 and the consequent rise of détente undeniably facilitated a mode of representation which both candidly reiterated the old inter-war romanticism and - though its proponents tended to declare non-alignment³⁴ - took a more favourable stance towards the communist regimes. Brian Aldiss's *Cities and Stones* (1966), published during the heyday of détente, acts as a useful exemplar of the times. The text describes a six-month motor journey Aldiss took with his fiancée through socialist Yugoslavia, and, once in rural districts, away from the country's burgeoning modernity, echoes Rebecca West's rapture at discovering that 'the old ways and associations are still alive'.³⁵ This is most evident in Macedonia, a region that West had revered for its capability to yield spiritual truth. It was here the couple 'felt most enchantment', surrounded by 'lively, handsome, and intelligent' people and a countryside

³³ Gary D. Rawnsley, 'Introduction' to Rawnsley, ed., *Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 8; George Kennan, quoted in Kaldor, *Imaginary War*, p. 84. Inglis also refers to the 'anticommunist hysteria' which characterised the McCarthyism of the early 1950s: Fred Inglis, *The Cruel Peace: Everyday Life in the Cold War* (London: Aurum Press, 1992), p. 124.

³⁴ See, for examples, the declaration of non-alignment, or objectivity, in Brian Aldiss, *Cities and Stones: A Traveller's Yugoslavia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 19; Arnold L. Haskell, *Heroes and Roses: A View of Bulgaria* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966), pp. 2, 145; Leslie Gardiner, *Curtain Calls: Travels in Albania, Romania and Bulgaria* (London: Duckworth, 1976), pp. 7, 9; Andrew MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey* (London: Robert Hale, 1983), p. 13; Philip Ward, *Bulgaria: A Travel Guide* (Cambridge and New York: The Oleander Press, 1989), p. 188; Philip Ward, *Albania: A Travel Guide* (Cambridge and New York: The Oleander Press, 1983), p. 1; David Tornquist, *Look East, Look West: The Socialist Adventure in Yugoslavia* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1966), publisher's blurb.

³⁵ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 97.

'rich and beautiful'[122], where 'an authentic chill of antiquity [and] holiness'[143] conjures up classical associations: 'the whole Macedonian landscape,' Aldiss enthuses, 'suggests something ancient; the apparition of a goat-foot boy playing the pipes would not be too startling'[123]. As the comment suggests, the region's associations are not just with the touristic delights of folk customs or costumes, but with authenticity, vitality, and living faith. This idealism is also present in Serbia, a republic that Aldiss claims 'is undeniably the heart of Yugoslavia'[37] and for which his persistent forays into history, myth and art, not as developed for other republics, reveals the Serbophilia which continued to inform the era.³⁶ In the monasteries of Ravanica, Ljuboština and Studenica, for example, where Foster Fraser had once achieved contentment, Aldiss discovers 'peace and sweetness'[54], 'a sort of domestic sanctity'[49], where simplicity and spirituality, 'very moving and disturbing'[48], lift the Englishman 'very close to Eternity'[46]. Little wonder that Aldiss and his future wife declare that 'our days in Serbia had a particular relish in them.'³⁷

Behind such representation, crucially, was a reliance on the Enlightenment ideals which had been informing the valorisation of south-east Europe since the First World War. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the Balkan chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation of Victorian imagining were replaced after 1914 by the motifs of order, unity, civility and social progress, a conceptual framework which though primarily used to designate the imperial subject had also to be deployed to represent smaller nations of which that subject approved. That its usage on the Balkans emerged largely unscathed by

³⁶ Apart from the apportionment of greater textual space to Serbia, examples of Serbophilia would include Tennyson's comment that 'Serbia's leadership' was central to inter-war Yugoslavia (Hallam Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain: The Story of Yugoslavia Today* (London: Rider and Co., 1955) p. 28), Yovitchitch's support for the Chetniks over Tito's Partisans (Yovitchitch, *Closed Frontiers*, p. 206), and Brown's emphasis on the Serbs' status as the 'largest', 'most numerous and [...] most homogeneous' of the ethnicities, not contradicting their claim to be 'the salt of Yugoslavia' (Alec Brown, *Yugoslav Life and Landscape* (London and New York: Elek, 1954), p. 108). At the same time, the status of other ethnic groups and their interests are constantly diminished: see Edwards's criticism of Croatia's 'petty squabbles' (Lovett F. Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia* (London: Methuen, 1954), p. 195), Dennis-Jones's siding with the Serbs in the Kosova dispute (Harold Dennis-Jones, *Where to Go in Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (1989; London: Settle Press; New York: Hippocrene Books, 1991), p. 106), and Krippner's comment that all Bosnians and Montenegrins are Serbs, and that Kosova is undoubtedly 'within Serbia' (Monica Krippner, *Yugoslavia Invites* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), pp. 15, 182).

³⁷ Ibid., p. 37. For other examples of Aldiss's complimentary representations of Yugoslavian life and landscape, see pp. 111, 112, 116, 127, 133-4, 193, 199, 223, 257.

the conflicts and ambiguities of the war is demonstrated by the Cold War treatment of the 'remarkably enlightened' Yugoslav state.³⁸ The theme of social unity, for example, is a common one in Aldiss's text, the republics found to be working their way towards 'one country'[19], particularly via 'the granting of minority rights', which enables a potentially 'volatile mixture' of ethnicities 'to live in harmony'[178]. Order and progress were similarly apparent, Aldiss being impressed not only by the scale of 'the problems that must be tackled,' but also by 'the energy with which they are being tackled'[232], the government conducting itself 'in a sensible and civilised way' and progressing 'within the framework of [a] modern state'[18]. Reflecting a 'civilised' administration, Yugoslavs are also a 'civilised'[244] people, for these 'are not wildernesses inhabited by brutes'[235], and even when there is wilderness it is a 'genial wilderness'[139], suffused with friendliness and hospitality. Alongside such Enlightenment concepts, and reflecting a split within the Enlightenment itself, lay Rousseau's primitivism, and the idea that clarity and truth spring not from rational thought but from inspiration. Again, Aldiss discovers such inter-war balkanist motifs in Serbian monastic life, this 'thread back to the past'[52], which represents for him not 'the dark and heavy mysticism' of Russian Orthodoxy, but 'a region of light'[134], a 'universal' language that inaugurates 'a surge of wonder and delight'[133]. The result was a closeness to spiritual truth, but also truth about the self, as Aldiss experiences elsewhere in Yugoslavia:

One of the keenest pleasures I derived from our travels was driving down intricate roads among great mountains, where it looks as if there can be no escape from the unfolding earth, where it looks as if the road must terminate immediately against a barrier of living rock: but always one finds the solution, and again emerges into free space. At the

³⁸ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 250. For the discovery of harmony, progress, rationality, civility and order in one or other of the Balkan states see Brown, *Yugoslav Life*, pp. 37, 125; William Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle* (London: Howard Baker, 1974), pp. 98-107, 112, 120, 256-8; William B. Bland, *A Short Guide to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania* (Bristol: Regent Holidays; Ilford: The Albanian Society, 1981), pp. 6-11; D.D. Andrew, *Bulgaria and Romania* (Garden City, New York: Nelson Doubleday, 1967), pp. 31, 39; Krippner, *Yugoslavia*, p. 15; Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, pp. 74, 122, 183-4; Lovett F. Edwards, *Yugoslavia: People and Places* (London: David Harvey, c.1970), pp. 9, 28-9, 44-7, 56; Eric Whelpton, *Dalmatia* (London: Robert Hale, 1954), pp. 9-10, 13, 46, 51-2, 123, 136, 185; May Mackintosh, *Rumania* (London: Robert Hale, 1963), pp. 18-22. For Kindersley, Yugoslavia may seem 'medieval', but its various people's nevertheless 'liv[e] in peace and prosperity' (Kindersley, *The Mountains of Serbia: Travels through Inland Yugoslavia*, rpt. ed. (1976; Newton Abbot: Readers Union, 1977), pp. 4, 212.

time I likened this to a melody, pursuing its way through intricacies to resolution, but I have since wondered if my pleasure was not more personal, a pre-natal memory of emerging into the world; that might account for the sense to be felt immediately afterwards that we had arrived at some tremendously inaccessible spot (from the eye of the embryo, is anywhere more remote than the world?). [113]

Here was the modern balkanist's sense that by withdrawing to the peninsula from the West, from the latter's falsity, corruption and decadence, one comes closer to origins and authenticity, to the elemental truths about the selfhood. Such desire for ultimate knowledge is closely linked (with Aldiss entering the 'unfolding earth' and fusing with the 'living rock') to Thanatos, the death urge, to the finalities of consummation and excess that had informed Romantic notions of transcendence. This is even clearer in a later passage when Aldiss reaches a mountain pass in Kosova; upon entering this great chasm, overawed by the 'great jowls of rock' and 'terrifying' 'bumps and hairpins', he is seized by 'a sort of excitement' and, praying "Make it really bad, Lord: terrify me!" wills from the frisson a momentary intimation of oblivion.³⁹

Alongside the recreation of the pre-war landscape, with its order, harmony, civility and revelatory possibilities, there were also stylistic similarities to the work of Rebecca West's generation, not least on the level of narrative structure. The inter-war journey often reflected the travelogue's formal roots in the Quest myth, that tale of quest, growth and realisation in which the Hero departs from the familiar, and suffers the trials and mysteries of passage before proceeding to achieve a destination that is both geographical and philosophical.⁴⁰ As inter-war writers like Lane, Thornton and Hall demonstrated, the quest formula would stimulate and maintain interest by surrounding the journey with mystery and travail, the degree with which these devices were present usually indicating the scale of revelation the reader could expect to encounter.⁴¹ After 1945, accordingly, the inaccessibility and imputed political terrors of communist eastern Europe were enumerated in the opening pages of travelogues to evoke that grim air of foreboding

³⁹ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 193.

⁴⁰ W.H. Auden's image of the modern traveller was 'as a Quest Hero setting off in search of [...] the Waters of Life': quoted in Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 209.

⁴¹ Amongst numerous examples, see Thornton's build up to his experience at Vulgari (described in my Chapter 4, p. 175) or Rebecca West's consummate build up to her revelation in Macedonia (see West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, II, 186-210).

suitable for the mid-century Quest: Leslie Gardiner, for example, terms the Albania he is about to enter 'that deep-red land of Marxist mystery', Aldiss talks about Yugoslavia as a land of 'Communism, one-partyism, and purges', and Mountfort emphasises how 'little known' Romania and Bulgaria are 'to Western observers'.⁴² The revelations such travellers then moved toward in their narratives would not be new to a reader of inter-war travel writing. There was firstly the same emphasis on the redeeming qualities of pre-modernity, its timelessness, its peace, its ability to facilitate for western travellers the sense of freedom and spiritual truth.⁴³ Secondly, there was the revelation that these alien communist countries were in fact not so different from our own, an important destabilising element in the inter-war subversion of Victorian representation. It is in this spirit, for example, that Gardiner states that Balkan peoples are '[j]ust like us, 'battling with the splendours and miseries of everyday life,' Eric Whelpton, in Dalmatia, claims that east and west are joined by 'the fatal but wondrous civilisation that is peculiar to Europe', and Aldiss, in Macedonia, asserts that 'Europeans - when all is said and done - are one family.'⁴⁴

⁴² Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 9; Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 34; Guy Mountfort, *Portrait of a River: The Wildlife of the Danube, from the Black Sea to Budapest* (London: Hutchinson, 1962), p. 21.

⁴³ For the achievement of peace or spiritual quietism in the Cold War Balkans, see Mackintosh, *Rumania*, p. 148; L. Grace Dibble, *Return Tickets to Yugoslavia* (Elms Court, Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1984), pp. 55, 82, 154; Dennis-Jones, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 21, 60, 69; Alan Ryalls, *Bulgaria for Tourists* (Havant, Hamps.: Kenneth Mason, 1971), pp. 91, 94, 107; Stowers Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer* (London: Robert Hale, 1967), p. 11; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 39; William Forwood, *Romanian Invitation* (London: Garnstone Press, 1968), p. 121; Stowers Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria* (London: Robert Hale, 1964), pp. 180-2, 190, 192; Amery, *Sons of the Eagle*, pp. viii, 75; June Emerson, *Albania: The Search for the Eagle's Song* (Studley, Warwickshire: Brewin Books, 1990), p. 60; Torgny Sommelius, *The Iron Gate of Illyria* (New York: Roy, c.1955), pp. 197-205 (he talks about 'Yugoslavia not as a geographic but as a spiritual concept'[201]). See also Raynor's treatment of Serbian village life, in Rayner, *Women in a Village*, pp. 38, 47, 71, 111, 120, 152, 164-5, 247. For some the revelation of Yugoslavia was its hint at a third way between western capitalism and eastern communism: see Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 106, 226; Edwards, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 15, 64; Tornquist, *Look East*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 7; Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, p. 9; Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 143. Such comments are ubiquitous during the period: see, for example, Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, p. 63; Harold Dennis-Jones, *Where to Go in Romania*, new ed. (1991; London: Settle Press, 1992), p. 115; Brown, *Yugoslav Life*, p. 182; Lovett F. Edwards, *The Yugoslav Coast* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1974), p. 269; Edward Streeter, *Along the Ridge: From Northwestern Spain to Southern Yugoslavia* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 151; Portway, *Double Circuit*, p. 61; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, p. 59; Mountfort, *Portrait*, pp. 43, 101, 179, 182-3; Dymphna Cusack, *Illyria Reborn* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p. 185; Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, p. 9. In an academic study, Urry

The only problem with this reiteration of inter-war signification was, quite simply, that south-east Europe had not been the static, ahistorical region such representation implied. The Balkans were in the throes of tremendous change from the 1950s onwards, the regimes pursuing 'a fundamental break with the past,'⁴⁵ in Cvičić's term, and the only way the travel writer could recapture the flavour of inter-war travel was by systematically ignoring large swathes of the contemporary landscape. For example, however central it was to the revelations of the text, reference to communism was largely eschewed in many travelogues, unsuitable as its practice, philosophy and barbarous image was to the romantic journey; although few writers said it as openly, most agreed in practice with Aldiss when he claims to have 'played down politics as much as possible', both because 'few holiday-makers care about such matters' and - in a nod towards détente - because 'the Cold War has thawed'.⁴⁶ At the same time, it meant playing down modernity in general, a more difficult enterprise, and one that, as I hope to show, was the reason that Cold War romanticism could not be sustained. As Russian and Chinese subsidies poured in, and western markets and banks extended their patronage, industry was promoted, agriculture technologised, communications improved, urban centres enlarged, and the modernity that had been begrudged, though easily ignored in the 1930s, was now an unavoidable feature of Balkan reality.⁴⁷ More disturbingly for those still seeking solitary, aristocratic travel, the peninsula had also succumbed to mass tourism after the 1950s, with resort complexes littering the Black Sea and Adriatic coastlines, as well as mountain areas in Bulgaria and Romania. Even Albania, pursuing

mentions that tourists in China 'have found it particularly interesting to gaze upon the carrying out of domestic tasks in a 'communist' country, and hence to see that the routines of life are not that unfamiliar' (John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage, 1990), p. 12.

⁴⁵ Christopher Cvičić, *Remaking the Balkans*, Chatham House Papers (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1991), p. 4.

⁴⁶ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 15-6. For similar comments, see Ward, *Bulgaria*, pp. xi-xii; Mountfort, *Portrait*, p. 21; Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. v; Edwards, *Yugoslav Coast*, p. 152; Edwards, *Yugoslavia*, p. 17. Amongst those travel texts on the Cold War Balkans that achieved the extraordinary feat of barely mentioning communism once are Forwood's *Romanian Invitation*, Cusack's *Illyria Reborn*, Mackintosh's *Rumania*, Brown's *Yugoslav Life and Landscape* and Kindersley's *Mountains of Serbia*.

⁴⁷ The features that MacCannell lists as basic 'characteristics of modernity' - the 'advanced urbanization, expanded literacy, generalized health care, rationalized work arrangements, geographical

an isolationist course under Hoxha, was accessible to vacationers as long as they relinquished 'individualistic aloofness', and 'joined what amounted to a package tour.'⁴⁸ In short, the atemporal qualities that writers loved to find in the Balkans were vanishing, and the dashing monarchs, tribal chiefs and merry peasants, crucial to the romantic paradigm, were all found to be dead, exiled or collectivised.

How, then, was modernity to be tackled in an ostensibly romantic narrative? Clearly, to condemn modernity too overtly or persistently in a text, as the inter-war generation had condemned western metropolitan civilisation, would risk undermining that air of positivity the traveller had maintained around the Balkan object.⁴⁹ The preferred though problematic answer, rather, was for the travel writer to keep to wilder tracts of country as much as possible and, where modernity was unavoidable, to extend the perimeters of the ideal, and do one's best to valorise it. The difficulties of the technique, which was strewn with paradox, was heightened by the contradictory ways such valorisation was pursued. As Aldiss again illustrates, one method was to construct the urban, industrial locale as part of the past, taking it out of the present and lending it an historical aura. There is one scene in *Cities and Stones*, for example, in which back-street Belgrade is constructed via allusions to 'lower-class Victorian England', with its crowds of '[t]own dwellers [...] and country people', its hawkers, cheap taverns and rather Dickensian drabness, making the English couple 'nostalgic for a past we had never experienced'[29]. This was modernity, but not contemporary modernity, and could therefore be rendered exotic. Held in uneasy suspension with this was a direct admiration for the ultra-modern development now in evidence in post-war Yugoslavia, a far more prevalent response in the period. In this vein, Aldiss mentions how '[m]uch of Yugoslavia's modern building is stylish,' its flats 'nice', its hotels of 'splendid comfort', its roads 'excellent', its factories 'efficient and modern' with 'extremely attractive'

and economic mobility and the emergence of the nation-state as the most important sociopolitical unit' (MacCannell, *Tourist*, p. 7) - were now all clearly visible across the Balkans.

⁴⁸ Portway, *Double Circuit*, p. 15. As Winnifrith bemoans, 'these 'organised tours [...] allowed little freedom of movement' (Winnifrith, *Shattered Eagles*, p. 56).

⁴⁹ I am thinking here of the way the Balkan travelogue, in style and concern, had practically merged with the tour guide, which Roland Barthes claims 'hardly knows the existence of scenery except under the guise of the picturesque' (Barthes, 'The *Blue Guide*', in Barthes, *Mythologies*, new ed. trans. Annette Lavers (1957; London: Jonathan Cape, 1974), p. 74.

products, and at least one power-station likened to “a temple”.⁵⁰ Yet as Aldiss’s depiction of Belgrade in the 1960s demonstrates, idealism of metropolitan, industrial development was always going to be tricky. ‘Unfortunately,’ he writes,

much of the old building that survived the war years is not attractive and the immediate post-war reconstruction downright ugly. But many fine new blocks of flats are going up. Novi Beograd makes a wonderful prospect; to drive towards its walls of glass is like driving into the future. The avenues of Belgrade are pleasant and tree-lined, its centre is interesting, its shops varied. And it has none of the oppressive atmosphere that some find in the adjacent capitals of Sophia, Budapest and Bucharest. It is friendly if not gay [...]. [31-2]

After an effective contrast between historic dilapidation and space-age modernity, Aldiss tails off rapidly, with the evocation of supposedly worse cities, and reliance on inconsequential epithets (‘varied’, ‘pleasant’, ‘interesting’), failing to inspire eagerness for, or indeed any particular interest in, communist Belgrade. And this failure of interest was always likely to be a danger. With the British reader familiar enough with modernity, the attempt to invest in the modern the wild effusion once invested in the primitive not only fell flat, but occasionally smacked of the absurd.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 21, 141, 107, 255, 120, 148, 105.

⁵¹ For moments of unintended irony, or slippage, in the romanticisation of the modern, see, *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 73, 69, 194; Haskell, *Heroes and Roses* p. 53; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, p. 65; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 35-6; Ward, *Albania*, p. 80. There were many moments at which the presence of modernity was actually regretted: see, for example, Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 55, 84, 89, 112, 194-5, 209, 228; Mountfort, *Portrait*, pp. 20-1, 27, 62, 80-1; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 57, 88-9, 176; Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer*, pp. 12, 25, 47, 78, 187; Ward, *Bulgaria*, pp. 142, 176, 187; John Higgins, *Travels in the Balkans* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), pp. 43-6, 58; Dibble, *Return Tickets*, pp. 90-1, 97-8, 110, 176, 232-3. Yet despite this, there is plenty of valorization. For example, Mackintosh praises Romania’s ‘truly magnificent blocks of flats’ (*Rumania*, 170); Forwood describe Iasi’s ‘housing estates’ as ‘pink and white like the blossoms which embellish the neighbouring countryside in spring’ (*Romanian Invitation*, pp. 75-6); for Kindersley, Pristina ‘looks like a *ville lumiere*: all cubes, white or pale blue’ (*Mountains*, p. 118); for Ward, ‘there is something heroic about [Bulgaria’s] determined industrialisation’ (*Bulgaria*, p. 240); and Courtade depicts Albania’s drive to modernity as ‘sublime with faith and courage’ (Pierre Courtade, *Albania: Travel Notebook and Documentary*, trans. Charles Ashleigh (London: Fore Publications, c.1952), p. 43). Such attainment offset the fact that, as Brown put it in the context of one Balkan state, ‘[a]n arcadian Yugoslavia is a dream-country gone for ever’ (*Yugoslav Life*, p. 144).

A second feature of modern development that travel writers valorised was the increasingly ubiquitous facilities of tourism, a valorisation which led them deeper into paradox. In the post-war West, leisure and consumer affluence had led to a massive expansion and professionalisation of the tourist industry,⁵² including, amongst its many manifestations, a burgeoning market for cheap, accessible guide books. In the Balkan context, there was a surge of texts in which the trope of the personalised, impressionistic journey is rejected in favour of a static, informative prose, shifting emphasis from the obdurate quest for mystery and remoteness to an itemisation of the touristic pleasures along the major communication routes. Despite the travel writer's attempt to stay aloof (Aldiss's *Cities and Stones* is pointedly subtitled *A Traveller's Yugoslavia*),⁵³ most came to some kind of compromise with the guide book format, realising (as Aldiss himself reveals in his reference to 'holiday-makers' and politics) that their readership was composed not only of armchair travellers but also of prospective summer visitors to the region.⁵⁴ This naturally caused a transformation of the textual engagement with Balkan place, altering route, focus and destination, and altering how one perceived and evaluated those destinations, with Aldiss, for example, descanting on tourist offices which demonstrate 'commendable efficiency'[91], on hotels and camps which are 'clean' and 'attractive'[114], and on restaurant 'service [that] is both cordial and prompt'[58]. A

⁵² See James Buzard, 'Culture for Export: Tourism and Autoethnography in Postwar Britain', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 106-127. As Urry relates, by the end of the Cold War (1990): 1.5 million were employed in tourist services in Britain alone, globally, tourism was increasing at 5-6 per cent annually, 126 million holidays were being taken domestically by British people and 25 million abroad, with tourism making up 6 per cent of all British consumer expenditure (see Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, pp. 5-7). On development abroad in the same period, F.W. Ogilvie notes that 'practically every country in the world is now looking to tourism as an important factor in national prosperity and realizing that results cannot be achieved by "hit or miss" methods' (Ogilvie, quoted in Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 333).

⁵³ He claims his motive in going to Yugoslavia is 'to experience [...] the freedom and challenge of travel' (Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 147), and distinguishes himself and his fiancée from the other northern Europeans they find along the Dalmatian coast, seeing themselves as 'exiles' rather than 'tourists'[221], and finding that in the company of tourists they 'became out of phase with Yugoslavia'[223]. In his claim that 'we go abroad to seek what is strange and familiar'[93], however, the author seems to be openly acknowledging that admixture of traveller and tourist commonly found in the inter-war generation.

⁵⁴ While claiming that his 'book is meant to entertain those who have no plan to move from their armchairs,' Aldiss also angles *Cities and Stones* at 'those touring down the Adriatic coast with it in their dashboard lockers' [Ibid., 15].

good example of just how widely such approbation diverges from inter-war preference comes in Aldiss's description of Petrovac, a small town on the Montenegrin coast:

The tiny little fishing town has a pleasant bay. Already two new hotels overlook it, as well as a mighty restaurant and useful supermarket. The cinema is open-air, its programme changes every other night. Petrovac has no claim to distinction; perhaps that is its attraction: it reminds one of a seaside town anywhere, except that its nights are always mild and sweet. [...] [T]he camp is well integrated with the town, so that one can stay there and feel a part of the village life. The camp itself had almost nothing in the way of facilities; but the feeling there was pleasant, and the campers under the old olive trees were the friendliest of people.⁵⁵

As with his Belgrade, Aldiss's language usage ('mild', 'sweet', 'useful', the pleonastic 'tiny little' and the tired repetition of 'pleasant') is in sorry shape, though suitable enough perhaps for a town with 'no claim to distinction'. Such writing articulates that the Balkans were no longer a spot for spiritual bliss, for pursuing an untrodden route to the transcendent, but for relaxed vacationing, leisure pursuits and (Petrovac being like 'a seaside town anywhere') all the conveniences of home. Indeed, the passage shows that in the literature of tourism, in whose packaging, marketing and consumption of place Aldiss participates, the markers of a worthwhile destination are not so much these of otherness as those of the Same - here, the hotels, supermarkets and cinemas of a consumerist West. The paradoxes of such representation are many, not least the twin facts that an attractive, viable tourist destination must have both the thrill of the unknown and the convenience of accessibility, and must combine traditional, unspoilt sights with modern facilities from

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 204. Consider also Whelpton's description of Cavtat, further up the Dalmatian coast: 'Cavtat is a delightful place, for the bay, with its rich vegetation on one side and its quay lined with little white houses on the other, is really beautiful. On the north side of the isthmus there are sandy beaches with clean water [...]. The villages a few miles inland are among the few in Dalmatia where peasant costumes are still worn, and where the best of regional dances can be seen on almost any Sunday throughout the summer. Lastly, communications are reasonably good, for bus, boat and rail services are available though it must be admitted that the station is two or three miles away' (Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, pp. 74-5). Published only twelve years after West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, such writing utterly lacks West's passion and flair, and its accentuation of views, services and times is closer to a guide-book, where distances signal discomfort rather than adventure and peasant costumes become a holiday spectacle rather than an event of deep philosophical importance.

which to view them, what Aldiss calls a mixture of '[c]ultural heritage' and 'modern plumbing'.⁵⁶ And in the writers' tendency to partake in these facilities, they themselves were reduced from seer to sightseer, from enacting the traveller part of the self to indulging the touristic part.⁵⁷

Of all the paradoxes surrounding the travel writer's collusion with tourism, the advertising of eastern Europe in a Cold War era was perhaps the most intriguing. I am not referring to the irony of selling socialist states to the western consumer, though these states' own highly professional self-marketing for touristic custom is certainly a paradox of note. Rather, I am thinking about how the willingness on the travel writers' part to appreciate Balkan tourism and modernity actually inferred tolerance for the regime that brought it into being, mirroring those regimes' own discursive self-fashioning, and contradicting the writers' desire to keep communism off the agenda. As a third object of valorisation, in fact, there were points at which the appreciation of tourism and modernity in general could not be distinguished from direct appreciation of socialism. The odd criticism of 'Tito's domain'[22] might occur in Aldiss's text, for instance, but overall he has a good word for the partisan war effort, for the Yugoslav leader, and for Yugoslav law, community spirit and freedom of speech, as well as for the state's achievements in industry, education, collectivisation, youth movements and civic development.⁵⁸ There are even moments at which Aldiss, surrounded by guides and translators, seems to forego independent travel and to take part in an organised tour, as

⁵⁶ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 118. Zygmunt Bauman locates the paradox that the strangeness which must be a part of any ideal tourist destination is also marked by 'safety cushions and [...] escape routes': 'In the tourist's world, the strange is tame, domesticated, and no longer frightens; shocks come in a package deal with safety' (Bauman, 'From Pilgrim to Tourist - Or a Short History of Identity', in Hall and du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp. 29-30. In another paradox, Gemunden, paraphrasing Hans Magnus Enzensberger, writes that the touristic 'yearning to be free from society becomes harnessed by the very society it seeks to escape; the search for the authentic inevitably leads to its destruction' (Gerd Gemunden, 'Introduction to Enzensberger's "Theory of Tourism"', *New German Critique* 68 (Spring-Summer 1996), p. 113.

⁵⁷ There is a certain loss of connection to place amongst Aldiss's generation, with the attempt at merging pursued by Starkie, Thornton and Hall replaced by distance from local culture and people - despite his claim to feel part of the village, for example, Aldiss's only contact in the passage seems to be with other campers.

⁵⁸ For instances of Aldiss's appreciation of the war effort see Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 120; of Tito, see pp. 84, 230; of law, see p. 166; of community spirit, see p. 178; of freedom of speech, see pp. 102, 247; of industry, see pp. 58, 105-6; of education, see pp. 75-6; of socialist agriculture, see pp. 66-8; of youth movements, see p. 59; and of civic development, see pp. 140-1, 151-2.

occurs in other texts from the period.⁵⁹ Perhaps the best example is at Velenje, a Slovenian mining settlement almost entirely developed after the war. Aldiss presents Velenje as a model of socialist modernity, with the futuristic workers' club being commended as 'bright'[259], the theatre as active, popular and 'stylishly executed' [259], and the town itself, being unafflicted by the strikes, drunkenness and vandalism that can plague 'a British mining town'[261], is said to exude 'a fine community feeling that made people happy'[261]. Even the view of Velenje from the surrounding hills is 'a beautiful composition of modern buildings in carefully contrasting colours [...], a wonderful *coup de theatre*'[258]. The praise continues when Aldiss, speaking to the Chief Engineer of the mine, turns attention to industrial matters, although here a certain note of ambivalence creeps in. Despite paraphrasing the engineer's glowing reports, there is a real sense in which the author disengages with his topic:

There is only one pithead to the mine at Velenje, an immense double one handling personnel and material. As we stood in the great vault where one technician was supervising the coal-lift, the Chief Engineer showed us the production charts. Of recent years, output has been going up. Now Russia is supplying new extractor plant for the coal face, and output should rise again. The Velenje coal basin is one of the biggest in Yugoslavia, and obviously the most will be made of it. [261]

The description is wretched: the lazy build of compound sentences, the vagueness of the 'output' data, the reliance on adjectives of size (the passage's only descriptive diction), all leading up to the final, redundant clause, communicates weariness, indifference and an utter lack of that evangelical fervour the inter-war balkanists exhibited for archaic cultural manifestation. However much Aldiss cites the regime's discourse of quotas, five year plans and rising production figures, or claims to have found Velenje 'a scintillating advert for the Yugoslav way of life', one that 'may make an English visitor adjust his ideas'[259], one's main sense is of authorial disinterest, and of a sneaking suspicion that industry has, in fact, no place in his travel book.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 56-8, 67-8, 73-4, 147.

⁶⁰ He comments elsewhere that the text had deliberately 'allowed less room to the factories, those pledges to the future, than to the memorials of the past. My Yugoslav friends may be angry; I ask them to forgive me; my customers are in the West' (Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 194). For other examples of the [inadvertant] support for socialist achievement, see Andrew, *Bulgaria and Romania*, p. 21; Krippner,

To sum up, it was Aldiss's combination of this uneasy valorisation of socialist modernity with a mild reincarnation of inter-war pastoralism that comprised the hybrid concept of the Balkans during détente. Admittedly, there are features of *Cities and Stones* that are untypical: Aldiss revealed, for example, a strain of harsh denigration that was rare in the late 1950s and 1960s, and his moments of wild romanticism, seen in the extract on pages 245 to 246, were not often a part of the signifying practice. In the main, Cold War balkanism found its niche between the two extremes, and Aldiss's generally easygoing appreciation for the social and physical landscape, expressed in a tame, workaday prose, epitomises the era, and was reiterated in all quarters of the Balkan peninsula. In fact, it is when turning away from Tito's Yugoslavia, which after all did not fully participate in the eastern bloc, that one catches sight of how curious this complimentary mode actually was. In Albania, one of the darkest spaces of Cold War geography, travellers discovered a 'profoundly democratic' country, with 'a joyful, vigorous independent people', both 'peaceful and [...] prosperous', and with scenery 'as beautiful as any romantic travellers could desire.'⁶¹ In Bulgaria, the most loyal of Moscow satellites, travellers were finding a 'part of Paradise', a 'rustic world' with a 'genial charm', and a population full of 'friendship, [...] courtesy and grace'.⁶² Countering the diatribes of Cold War propaganda, the framework by which the Balkans were interpreted remained, in short, obdurately favourable.

Yugoslavia Invites, pp. 32-3; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 13, 26, 55, 124, 137-8, 197; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 11-2, 62-85, 127, 158-73, 218-26, 230; Emerson, *Albania*, pp. 8-9, 14, 51, 65; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 12, 58-62, 67, 95-6, 134, 157, 191-2; Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, pp. 16, 23, 55, 96, 187-8, 190. Lovett Edwards is interesting, as he was pro-monarchy before the war, and apparently pro-Tito after: see Edwards, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 7-8, 13-4, 24-6, 37, 44-7, 64. Of course, anti-communism remained: Newman condemns Hoxha's control of 'the least-Communist people in all Europe' (in *Mediterranean Background*, new ed. (1949; London: Travel Book Club, 1950), p. 165); Gunther condemns Albania's 'grimy little dictatorship' as a 'Communist outhouse - the real end of the line' (in *Inside Europe Today*, rev. ed. (1961; London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), pp. 353-4) and the 'fanatics' in charge of Yugoslavia (in *Behind Europe's Curtain* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949), p. 55); Mountford is critical of the Bulgarian regime (in *Portrait*, pp. 102-3) and O'Connor critical of Romanian political realities (in *Walking Good: Travels to Music in Romania and Hungary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 70-80. See also representation in Galbraith's *Journey* and Sommeliuss's *Iron Gates of Illyria*.

⁶¹ Courtade, *Albania*, p. 13; Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle*, p. 255; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 152, 4.

⁶² Ryalls, *Bulgaria*, p. 6; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 164; Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, p. 32; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, p. 194.

The manner in which this mode of signification was brought to an end opens up important questions about discourse, the causes of rupture, and the nature and sources of balkanist practice. After Aldiss's day, the decline in regard for south-east Europe that the Second World War inaugurated began to accelerate. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the British traveller's approval of the Balkans faltered, with interest in the region dropping sharply, then petering out in the late 1980s, when the number of travelogues remained low, and in those that were published the images, tropes and terms of traditional balkanism greatly outweighed those of the complimentary mode.⁶³ By the time revolution had dismantled the old eastern bloc, it was Harding's particular viewpoint that was characterising the representational dominant, not Aldiss's. From the sojourns of Eric Newby and Philip Ward in Albania, Bill Bryson in Bulgaria, Brian Hall, Dave Rimmer and Guy Arnold in Romania, Richard Bassett in Yugoslavia, and from the wider journeys of David Selbourne and Philip Glazebrook, the emerging picture was of social and ethnic unrest, brutal, oppressive regimes, deadening poverty and secretive, suspicious populations - in short, of a chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation updated to a late communist landscape.⁶⁴ Just as Aldiss's upbeat, optimistic writing echoed the atmosphere of détente, so the decline in that optimism might seem to reflect changes in the material sphere. This was a period, on the one hand, when the socialist economies,

⁶³ The texts in which appreciation is dominant in the 1980s were Peter and Andrea Dawson, *Albania* (1989), June Emerson, *Albania* (1990), Andrew MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey* (1983), William Bland, *A Short Guide to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania* (1981), Grace Dibble, *Return Tickets to Yugoslavia* (1984). Harold Dennis-Jones's *Where to Go in Yugoslavia* (1991) and *Where to Go in Romania* (1992), the former first published in 1989, are very much texts of the Cold War period. Fermor's *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986) describing a walk through the Balkans in the 1930s, is really a throw-back to the inter-war paradigm.

⁶⁴ See the attitude to landscape, people and state in Arnold, *Down the Danube: The Black Forest to the Black Sea* (London: Cassell, 1989), pp. 110, 140-2, 150-3, 166, 173-6; Eric Newby, *Shores of the Mediterranean*, new ed. (1984; London: Picador, 1985), pp. 100-2, 113, 115-33; Ward, *Albania*, pp. 14, 19, 56-8, 105, 124, 137; Brian Hall, *Stealing from a Deep Place: Travels in South-Eastern Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1988), pp. 9-13, 24, 52-73, 78-86, 136, 146-52; Dave Rimmer, *Once Upon a Time in the East* (London: Fourth Estate, 1992), pp. 224, 241-62; David Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero: Eastern Europe, 1987-90* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1990), pp. 37-48, 96-105, 141, 145-68, 256-64; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, pp. 1-2, 10, 32, 47, 61-2, 67, 69-72, 91, 102-3, 108-9, 122-3, 132-7; Glazebrook, *Journey*, pp. 10, 193-4, 200, 208-18, 226-31. Portway presages this generation: 'Though they form part of our continent,' he writes on the Balkans in 1974, 'the fact does not immediately register, for the violent, irrational temperament of the Balkan countries is alien to our concept of an ordered Europe' (Portway, *Double Circuit*, p. 24).

buoyant in the 1960s, were set in irrevocable decline, with a burgeoning foreign debt and a low *per capita* gross domestic product combining to produce stagnation, consumer shortages and austerity. On the other hand, it was a time of deteriorating relations between the power blocs, when, after Reagan's election in 1980, tensions heightened between the superpowers and right-wingism, belligerence and arms escalation resurfaced. During this 'second Cold War', as it is termed, travellers certainly appeared to have taken on board their government's deep aversions.

The material argument, however, has its limitations. Economic transformations in eastern Europe, and the rise and fall of *détente*, do not fully explain the harshness of the new writing, or explain why the British traveller - if such metropolitan displays were something to condemn - became so keen on modernity and communism in the first place. It was not as if the existence of tradition and custom had abruptly vanished from the Balkans anyhow, as those travellers who continued to valorise the region in the 1980s illustrate. What I would argue is far more influential on the late twentieth-century transformation is the insistent, inevitable tension that builds up *within signifying practice itself*, what one could term the internal pressures on a discourse. Though unrealisable in practice, cross-cultural discourse proceeds by minimalising the disparities between a specific environment and the pattern of signification the discourse's culture has deployed to annotate that environment. Late nineteenth-century balkanists, for example, maintained the traditional motif of savage otherness in their writings by eliminating, or reducing to a minimum, those material conditions such as education, constitutional integrity, linguistic complexity, artistic proficiency, that opposed it. In the same way, inter-war romanticism achieved internal coherence and efficacy by the exact opposite: by erasing any sign of modernity, discord or violence from the textual landscape. The strain emerges when landscape can no longer be manipulated to support the set of representational practices one is working within. By this I do not mean, simply, that material conditions of the host culture efface the possibilities for textually staging one's chosen representation pattern, but that *the discursive significance of those conditions* in the home culture repudiates the textual interpretation placed upon them - a clash emerges between authorial interpretation and likely interpretation amongst readers. The period of the 1910s is an example in kind. From the First Balkan War until 1918, the Edwardian interpretation of the Balkans, which constructed the place as colonial

territory, came into conflict with the triumphant achievement of independence against an increasingly unjust regime, the signifiers in British political discourse of honourable nationalism; the ambiguity that built up, in seeking resolution, forced the switch from the colonial interpretation to the nationalist, in whose romantic channels the Balkan concept remained until the 1980s. This is not to say, of course, that either interpretative framework is empirically sound, but just that latter was able successfully to smooth out the wrinkles in conceptualisation. Out of such easing of discursive tensions, new paradigms are born.⁶⁵

The Cold War era also exemplifies this process of building and easing tension within discourse. After the successful instillation of positive representation as the dominant interpretative framework, this framework continued to exert influence both on the representational conventions in the text and on the perceptions and evaluations of the journey - cross-cultural discourse being both a language that speaks us, to use the academic axiom, and one that moulds and guides knowledge formation itself, that 'involuntarily occup[ies] our memories and appropriate[s] our creativities.'⁶⁶ Such is the power of discourse that, overcoming the slight hiccup of the 1940s war memoirs (through which it was found, however, that balkanism need not return to the denigratory mode), travellers of the 1950s and 1960s continued to travel and write under the shadow of the past. As Aldiss illustrates, one frequently finds in Cold War texts a yearning for romanticism and revelation, for that mode of travel, ubiquitous in inter-war and Victorian travelogues, in which the Briton tackled wildernesses, opened up foreign territories and had revelations unavailable to those who stayed at home. These writers, after all, knew their Balkan travel texts - Aldiss, typically, litters his text with reference to Kinglake,

⁶⁵ Kuhn terms this the 'paradigm-shift', that moment when a paradigm has 'run out of interesting puzzles to solve,' or has 'come up against anomalies which cannot adequately be dealt with from their theoretical base,' and when creation of 'a new conceptual structure' allows 'matters [to] settle down' (see Peter Hamilton, 'Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-War Humanist Photography', in Hall, *Representation*, p. 76).

⁶⁶ Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, p. 38. I am always reminded, when considering the power of cross-cultural discourse, of Woolf's description of how the female writer is checked by the 'Angel in the House': And when I came to write', she says, 'I encountered her with the very first words. The shadow of her wings fell on my page; I heard the rustling of her skirts in the room [...]. And she made as if to guide my pen.' Woolf's elimination of the Angel's discursive control ('I took up the inkpot and flung it at her') is a particularly modernist expression of the possibilities of individual autonomy (see Woolf, 'Professions for Women', in *Collected Essays*, Vol. 3, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1972), pp. 285-6).

Lovett Edwards, Arthur Evans, T.G. Jackson, Viscountess Strangford, Fitzroy Maclean and, most significantly, Rebecca West, whose book exerts enormous influence on both his work and that of his contemporaries.⁶⁷ Consequently, they knew the peninsula could support quest narrative, and tried to recreate its patterns of tribulation and disclosure amid the modernity of the post-war Balkans. What was a natural, even axiomatic, approach to landscape within balkanist practice, however, came up against the more typical interpretations of modernity in British cultural discourse: here, modernity denoted comfort, familiarity, domesticity, sophistication - all concepts opposed to the simplicity and heroism upon which balkanist romanticism was constructed. The two discourses came into opposition, slippage was produced as the significance of Balkan landscape to the home culture collides with the interpretative framework deployed with the new traditions of balkanism, producing a tension that was expressed in writers like Aldiss via ambiguity. Textual ambiguity requires resolution, and yearns for more confident channels of expression.

To put the point a different way, modernity inscribed a loss of the two primary markers of the romance quest - mystery and travail. As I have mentioned, both motifs were deployed to instil adventure into the Balkan journey, particularly during initial descriptions of entrance into the region, when writers needed to capture the attention of a Free World readership. Once the narrated journey has begun, however, and the region's modern conveniences are depicted, the aura of peril is lost, with the writer's utilisation of car, hotel, cinema and campsite soon indicting a very different sojourn from Durham's cross-country mule treks or Starkie's 'raggle-taggle' wanderings, with their heroic flavour of expedition and quest. Moreover, the supposed travails of communism barely inconvenience travel writers, and hardship usually amounts to little more than

⁶⁷ Apart from listing further instances in kind, the clearest way of exemplifying the hold that complimentary representation had had over travel writing is by remarking upon the number of Cold War writers who arrived at the Balkans expecting romantic cultures. See, for example, Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 32, 89-90; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 15-6, 30; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, p. 11; Anthony Rhodes, *The Dalmatian Coast* (London: Evans Brothers, 1955), p. 132; Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, p. 74; Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, p. 5; O'Connor, *Walking Good*, p. 4; Emerson, *Albania*, p. 16; Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, pp. 83-4; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 14. If writers admitted to hearing negative rumours about the Balkans, they also proceed to subvert them: amongst many examples, see Streeter, *Along the Ridge*, pp. 149-51; Gunther, *Behind's Europe's Curtain*, pp. 22, 53, 53; Dennis-Jones, *Romania*, pp. 5, 58, 115, 120, 123; Laird Archer, *Balkan Journal* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1944), pp. 59, 94.

unmacadamised roads, unfamiliar toilets, and what Arnold Haskell terms the “no plug in the bath” type of criticism,’ a far cry from the old blood feuds, insurgencies and Balkan wars.⁶⁸ The attempt to preserve enigma around the Balkan object in this tame atmosphere was doomed to failure.⁶⁹ Crucially, the outcome of this loss of mystery was a reduction in the possibilities for mythological or spiritual disclosure in the travel text, for the less the mystery and attendant travail, the less the scale of revelation one can pin on the narrative. The clearest example here is the disclosure of the fundamental *sameness* of communist east and democratic west, which may well have surprised those reared on Cold War propaganda, yet in evoking normalcy in the Balkans also relinquished that sense of strangeness central to the mythological narrative, contrasting poorly with the momentous unearthing of our primitive, feudal and pagan roots pursued by West’s generation. What aggravated this loss of the primitive, this break in the continuum of dignified tradition, was a certain wistful regret for the associated qualities of peace, freedom and pastoral delight that began pervading rural portraiture. Whelpton’s aporic comment, ‘I am not at all sure that the new order is not far better than the old’,⁷⁰ with its cautious commingling of negatives, typifies the ambivalence with which travellers often lauded Balkan modernity. Similarly, Gardiner grieves for the days when ‘[t]ravel was synonymous with travail’, Tennyson realises ‘that old traditions would quickly disappear’, and Aldiss accepts ruefully that he is ‘watching the passing of an older

⁶⁸ Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, p. 2. Mazower comments that in Cold War balkanism, ‘[t]he picturesque replaced the violent, and the worst problems most tourists anticipated were poor roads and unfamiliar toilets’ (Mazower, *Balkans*, p. 5). For the loss of travail or adventure, see *Ibid.*, p. 1; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, pp. 11, 135; Portway, *Double Circuit*, pp. 15-6, 37; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 13-5, 98-100; Dawsons, *Albania*, pp. 11-5; Glazebrook, *Journey*, pp. 164, 217, 230; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 135; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, p. 40; Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, pp. 23-4, 94, 98; Creon is unusual in maintaining the air of adventure in the Yugoslav context: see Katherine Creon, *London Istanbul without Even a Screwdriver: Through Tito’s Yugoslavia* (London: Minerva, 1993), p. vii.

⁶⁹ Aldiss, for example, attempts to maintain an air of mystery around Yugoslavia: he opens by terming it ‘a strange and compelling country’ (Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 15), and then reinscribes that strangeness or mystery on pp. 17, 18, 88, 185, 277. He ends the book by exclaiming, ‘how marvellous [t]his country looked, and how mysterious...’ [277]. Yet the general trend in the text is towards an emphasis on the loss of mystery, tradition, adventure and revelation: see *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 34, 36-7, 47, 95, 201, 246. The loss of mystery to the Balkan journey is exemplified by Johnson’s impression that the only remnant of the Vulgari fire-dancing that had so affected Thornton are a few melodies played by a local orchestra in a tourist restaurant (see Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 173-4). There was certainly little left of what he calls ‘the exhilaration the traveller feels when he crashes into a new district not yet penetrated by trippers’ (Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer*, p. 189).

order.'⁷¹ By the time Brian Hall was touring Bulgaria in 1982, belatedness has developed to such a point that an air of emptiness, even pointlessness attends his sojourn,⁷² as it did for Harding, with her sense of having 'slept through [her] destination'. For a period, clearly, the peninsula had lost its centuries-old ability to offer western travellers picaresque adventure and spiritual release.⁷³

As if sensing the difficulties which modernity presented for their attempts at quest narrative, writers embarked upon what might be termed a process of *textually maintaining* the residual paradigm of inter-war travel literature. I refer here to the period's resort not merely to the kind of excuses with which travellers of the 1920s and 1930s had brushed aside potential criticism of the region,⁷⁴ but also to a wide range of disingenuous strategies aimed at recreating the flavour and landscape of pre-war culture.

⁷⁰ Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, p. 94.

⁷¹ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 135; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, p. 59; Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 47. An exemplar of Aldiss's point comes in O'Connor's book on Romania, where he finds that the peasant culture so beloved by Hall has been reduced to 'Folclor - numerous bouncy women in gleaming 'peasant' costume singing banal Transylvanian romances into a nerve-shattering public address system' (in *Walking Good*, p. 81).

⁷² For example, Brian Hall, on a cycle ride around south-east Europe, spends all his time in the Bulgarian town of Ruse (a significant thirty pages out of his 90 page section on Bulgaria) detailing his efforts to get his bicycle fixed, so lacking does the town and environs appear to be (Hall, *Stealing from a Deep Place*, pp. 95-123). For other examples, see Bill Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There: Travels in Europe*, new ed. (1991; London: Minerva, 1992), p. 215; Paul Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules: A Grand Tour of the Mediterranean*, new ed. (1995; London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 234-5; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 88-9; Winniffrith, *Shattered Eagles*, p. 94; Ward, *Albania*, p. 137; Glazebrook, *Journey*, pp. 211-2, 217; and Scott Malcomson, *Empire's Edge: Travels in South-Eastern Europe, Turkey and Central Asia* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994), pp. 102-8. Ward comments angrily on Hall's treatment of Ruse, which the former considers 'a splendid city', in Ward, *Bulgaria*, p. 135.

⁷³ Fussell, writing in 1980 on the theme of the death of travel, claims oddly that '[p]erhaps the closest one could approach an experience of travel in the old sense today would be to drive in an aged automobile with doubtful tires through Romania [...] without hotel reservations and to get by on terrible French' (Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 41). He certainly could not have got this idea from the contemporary travel writers, who approximate such conditions without any corresponding sense of revelation. As Aldiss says: 'We imagine that the other holds a secret that he would convey, a large secret that would make clear to us the root causes of his foreignness; it is not so, but every distorted sentence makes it seem so' (Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 148-9).

⁷⁴ See, for example, Andrew's explanation for Romanian and Bulgarian poverty in '[c]enturies of subjection to corrupt Turkish rule' (in *Bulgaria and Romania*, pp. 20-1); Edwards's sourcing of Yugoslavia's poor hotel facilities in the rigours of the Second World War (in *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. 11), or Mackintosh's excusing of Romanian backwardness by emphasising the country's comparative youth (in *Rumania*, p. 28).

Perhaps the most important tactic used to adapt or preserve landscape was that of accentuation, of playing down the evidences of modernity along one's route and laying greater emphasis on any pre-modern customs that remained, customs that were increasingly irrelevant to the host culture, but which were absolutely fundamental to the westerner's motives for visiting that culture. Aldiss's determined attempt to recapture past landscape is a case in hand, one that frequently resorts to an emphasis on museums, historic buildings and remnants of an increasingly unrepresentative folk culture.⁷⁵ Another example comes in Leslie Gardiner's description of Albania in the late 1960s, a time in which the Hoxha regime was using foreign credit to force through a hasty programme of urbanisation that the author, with sustained accumulations of rustic imagery, and only the briefest of allusions to modernity, largely manages to obliterate. On arrival at Tirana airport, for instance, after a brief reference to a runway lined with soldiers, Gardiner builds up such a pleasing tableau of sunlight, flowers, smiling faces and slogans grown in flower-beds ('picked out in red and white dahlias') that the impression is less of a major communication hub in Europe's most forbidding dictatorship than of a rather quaint 'wayside railway station'.⁷⁶ His description of Sarande offers another illustration of the technique:

Sarande is a modern town, not exciting architecturally, but every year a few more citrus groves soften its outlines. Above its shallow amphitheatre the hillside is harsh, destroyed by summer drought. The Italians acknowledged the beauty of Sarande's situation when they occupied the bay in 1939 and rechristened it Porto Edda, after Mussolini's daughter, the countess Ciano [...]. Originally it was Onchesmos, then Santi Quaranta - 'Forty Saints,' Razu says, 'from the forty hermits who dwelt there, each in his separate cell.'⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Consider, for example, Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 33, 34, 37, 92-4, 110-12, 156-61, 162-9, 185-9, 207-8, 274-5. See also, Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 145-8; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 14, 141, 150, 164-6, 174-5; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, pp. 117, 142; Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, pp. 13, 21, 66-7, 71, 83-4; Mackintosh, *Rumania*, pp. 26, 78-87, 127-9, 135; Andrew, *Bulgaria and Romania*, pp. 3-5; Rayner, *Women in a Village*, pp. 50-60, 111, 114-20, 164-5, 215, 247; Krippner, *Yugoslavia Invites*, pp. 16-20, 105-6, 120, 139-40, 157-8, 171-3, 182-3; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 35-6, 176-8, 199-201, 229-32; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 8-10, 97, 122, 152-5, 197-8; Kindersley, *Mountains*, pp. 4-10, 70, 114-8, 180, 196-7.

⁷⁶ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 10.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Sarande is 'modern', as Gardiner is prepared to admit, but lacking actual *illustration* of the town's modernity, one's image of the place is comprised solely of countesses, fruit trees and hermits, all eclipsed by a bare, undeveloped hillside; the clutter of modernity has been ejected from textual space. It is through such reductionism, repeated at each stop along his guided tour of collectivised villages and state institutions, that Gardiner's basic point that Albania was "a most beautiful land" is hard to refute.⁷⁸

This kind of limited description was not wholly original: the inter-war travellers were already proficient in ignoring, or reducing, anything unsuited to their conceptual model, as indeed were earlier travellers, for different reasons and to different ends. It certainly did become original, however, with the extremity that writers now brought to this reductionism, with many attempting the wholesale recreation of anachronistic landscape in their texts. An example in kind is the greater emphasis the Cold War travelogue placed on the annotation of historical background, a common characteristic of the travel genre, which now could extend for pages, even chapters, at a time, and which - I would argue - aimed to lend to present landscape all the colour and exoticism of the past.⁷⁹ More disingenuously still, Aldiss's generation would quote at length the descriptions that past travellers gave of locations along their routes, even quoting them *in place of* any description of current landscape. Stowers Johnson's citing of Walker's descriptions of nineteenth-century Macedonia, for example, Andrew MacKenzie's usage of Starkie's text from the 1920s, and Haskell's quotation of an old German traveller's description of Veliko Turnovo,⁸⁰ all erased the contemporary, depositing in the reader's

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 9. See also MacKenzie's description of Tulcea and Slatina (in *Romanian Journey*, pp. 34, 88-9); Archer's description of Tirana (in *Balkan Journal*, p. 27); Edwards's description of Obrovac (in *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. 53); Johnson's description of Plovdiv (in *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 29-51); Gardiner's description of Tirana and Gjirokastër (in *Curtain Calls*, pp. 13-4, 55); Dennis-Jones's description of Timișoara and Petroșani (in *Romania*, pp. 93, 104-5); and Cusack's description of Elbasan (in *Illyria Reborn*, p. 119).

⁷⁹ See, for example, the patterns of historical representation in Anne Kindersley's *The Mountains of Serbia*, Stowers Johnson's *Gay Bulgaria*, A.L. Haskell's *Heroes and Roses*, Andrew MacKenzie's *Romanian Journey*, Monica Krippner's *Yugoslavia Invites*, Ward's *Bulgaria*, Cusack's *Illyria Reborn* and in the Cold War work of Lovett F. Edwards.

⁸⁰ Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer*, pp. 154-5; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 115-6; Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, pp. 120-1. For other examples of using of past texts to lend atmosphere to the present journey, see Ibid., p. 117; Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer*, pp. 27-8; Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. 80; Newby, *Shores of the Mediterranean*, p. 126; Emerson, *Albania*, pp. 9, 68; Ward, *Bulgaria*, pp. 121,

mind a spurious recreation of the pastoral landscape in which pre-war journeys supposedly took place. At the same time, the actual experiences of past travellers were added in order to drum up interest; Haskell uses Lamartine's account of an illness in Bulgaria in 1833, Johnson uses the Askews' portrait of First World War Serbia, and Philip Ward, on a dull tour of Albania in 1982, persistently cites the adventures of Byron, Lear, Matthews, Swire, Newman and Edmonds.⁸¹ These strategies of belatedness, as one could call them, these distortions, evasions, tricks, excuses, all reveal writers twisting and tearing at landscape to slot it into discursive channels. Landscape is not entirely 'a metaphysical blank sheet on which the traveller [can] write and rewrite the story,'⁸² as one critic suggests, but the Cold War generation, struggling with the intrusion of modernity, did their best to treat it as such.

At least, they did so until an alternative solution emerged. The twin strategies of valorising socialist modernity and of eradicating modernity from the text naturally aggravated the many paradoxes of Cold War balkanism, and proved unsustainable. In fact, the period reminds us that romanticisation of the pre-modern is always a temporally limited ideal, for once the object of primitivist discourse transforms (which being subject to time and change it must) then the discourse, having no room for transformation itself, cannot be preserved. In this sense, the forty years of Cold War balkanism were a waiting period, an interregnum, that presaged a solution for the crisis of representation whilst simultaneously demonstrating the discursive confusion and ambivalence that reiterated the need for that solution. And the solution came, finally, in the shape of traditional balkanism. Exerting a simple realignment of interpretative schemata, a cluster of texts appeared in the late 1980s that faced the same landscape of modernity not via

223; Dawsons, *Albania*, pp. 39-40, 79. For some late examples, see Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, pp. 48-9, 51-2, 63, 85, 109, 123; Anton Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest: Travels in Eastern Europe* (London: Grafton, 1990), p. 283; Harding, *Another Country*, p. 72.

⁸¹ Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, pp. 126-7; Johnson, *Yugoslav Summer*, p. 184; Ward, *Albania*, pp. 50, 66-9, 101-2, 104, 108-9, 110-1, 117-8, 138-9. Not only were readers experiencing vicariously in such passages, but so were the travel writers! See also, Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, pp. 30-1, 42-3; Ward, *Bulgaria*, p. 220; Rhodes, *Dalmatian Coast*, p. 55; Kindersley, *Mountains of Serbia*, pp. 237-8, 249-52; Emerson, *Albania*, p. 14, 41. Glazebrook centres the whole of *Journey to Kars* around the writings of Victorian travellers. At times, such citation had the ironic effect of emphasizing the loss of adventure: examples of this appear in Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 33-4, 37, with his references to Kinglake, and in Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 31, 88, 167-8;

⁸² Cocker, *Loneliness and Time*, p. 18.

idealisation - one option in post-Enlightenment discourse - but via condemnation - the other option. This was the modern's distaste for the whole sorry business of metropolitan existence, but projected into another culture - the West seeing its own modernity in the Balkans, as in previous periods it had seen its own fervent nationalism, and not liking what it saw. Significantly, once conceptualisation of the Balkans slotted itself into this new denigratory groove, it proceeded so smoothly that an air of inevitability accrued: it recaptured the sense of extreme on which travel writing on the Balkans thrives; it offered commonality with an established discourse on modernity; it pandered to the scepticism current amongst a postmodern readership; it built upon an established mode of constructing south-east Europe (dormant, but vestigial through the twentieth century); and, vitally, it resolved the contradictions within discourse, and thus *felt right*. While not being the truth, it had the qualities of truth. Like the First World War, the Cold War period was one of heightened struggle between residual and emergent paradigms when, over and above changes in the material or historical sphere, profound discursive tensions shook balkanism.

There is a second reason for the decline of romanticism, one which this focus on the inner workings of discourse also reveals. I would argue that the Cold War concept of the Balkans, that had been fed by Rebecca West and the 'moderns', their techniques and perspectives, all new and revolutionary in their day, quite simply ran out of steam. To understand the point, one must shift focus from travel writing to wider issues in late twentieth-century literature. The post-war period was one in which tremendous change was taking place in all intellectual fields, and when the revolutions of the modernists were beginning to feel entrenched, institutionalised and stale; by the late 1960s, John Barth, famously, was talking about the lassitude of western cultural production, what he termed 'the used-upness of certain forms or exhaustion of certain possibilities', and the need for 'rebellion against Tradition.'⁸³ Just as fads and trends influence the novel, so they exist in travel writing, and with that particular lateness with which literary innovations enter the genre, this sense of repetition and exhaustion was emerging by the 1980s in all areas of travel writing - in technique, destination, philosophy and representation. It just so happened that this urgent need for a change of discursive

⁸³ John Barth, 'The Literature of Exhaustion', reprinted in Malcolm Bradbury, ed. *The Novel Today: Contemporary Writers on Modern Fiction*, new ed. (1977; London: Fontana, 1977), p. 70.

direction, this return to denigratory balkanism as it turned out, came at a time of revolution in eastern Europe, and the shift to a new world order.

Before going on to look at the forms and effects of post-1989 denigration, I would like to analyse briefly the conjunction of knowledge and power in the Cold War context. It has frequently been said that due to its political location in the larger category of the 'eastern bloc' after 1945, the Balkans were also subsumed into a wider pattern of representation and a wider distribution of power. Indeed, so resonant were the eastern European countries to the 'Free World's' sense of self that their conflation into a single, homogenised 'bloc', as Wolff argues was the case,⁸⁴ was only to be expected. It was eastern Europe after all which had formed the site of emergence for superpower antipathy, with Britain and the Soviet Union clashing over the fate of Poland at Yalta in 1945, Churchill denouncing Soviet expansionism into eastern Europe at Fulton a year later (the famous 'Iron Curtain' speech⁸⁵), and then Britain and the US extending influence into Greece and Yugoslavia in 1947 and 1948. This early sense of eastern Europe as 'the ideological front-line of the East-West conflict,'⁸⁶ as Okey calls it, was retained throughout the forty years of Cold War. The primary markers of the era were mostly found here: the Kremlin, a divided Berlin, the Hungarian Uprising, Siberian gulags, Hoxha's Albania and Ceaușescu's Romania. For generations born after the Second World War, unfamiliar with past patterns of signification, and knowing only Cold War imaginative geography, it might indeed have seemed an indivisible entity.

Yet although the conceptual positioning of the Balkans into a 'Soviet east' had undoubtedly occurred, the specific forms of control that the West had exerted over the region since the nineteenth century, and the intimate links between western diplomacy

⁸⁴ This was the West's construction of eastern Europe 'as a real and coherent subject rather than an [...] artificial rubric' (Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 370). Wolff's thesis overlooks the subtleties and distinctions inherent in western representations of eastern Europe since the Enlightenment.

⁸⁵ 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic', Churchill intoned, 'an iron curtain has descended across the continent' and the Soviet-led communism that had created it 'constitute[s] a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation' (quoted in Inglis, *Cruel Peace*, pp. 33-4).

⁸⁶ Okey, *Eastern Europe*, p. 223. Inglis writes, 'Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, Bucharest, Sofia, Berlin, are the names of the end of the cold war, as they were of its beginning' (Inglis, *Cruel Peace*, p. 415).

and Balkan actuality, were not necessarily altered. Certainly, the post-war settlement of Balkan affairs took place within an unbroken continuum of western regulation that stretched from the Berlin conference of 1878 to Dayton in 1996. Perhaps the only real difference to the settlements succeeding past periods of conflict, with their devastating systems of reward and punishment, was that western involvement was now more brazen. I am thinking, of course, of the infamous 'percentages bargain' between Churchill and Stalin, who, tackling the future of the Balkans in Moscow (1944), carved up the peninsula with imperial swagger, Churchill suggesting - to Stalin's agreement - that the Soviets maintain 'ninety percent predominance' in Romania, seventy-five percent in Bulgaria, 'go fifty-fifty' in Yugoslavia, and leave the West with dominant influence in Greece. As Jelavich comments, this was 'an example of the worst in great-power politics', an arrangement not designed to address local needs but 'to maintain a balance of influence and to prevent one government from dominating the entire area.'⁸⁷ And as Jelavich goes on to detail, however informal this agreement might have been its terms were more or less fulfilled: Moscow had established satellite states in Bulgaria and Romania shortly after, and Britain had sent a military force to ensure democratic victory in Greece, thus retaining it within a western sphere of influence. The West's sense of an innate right to determine Balkan history seems unimpaired, and although Moscow, following its own continuum of imperial ambition, took charge of the region, western involvement, above all in Romania and Yugoslavia, did not entirely end.

When attempting to discern how Britain's ongoing policy in south-east Europe had been advanced by the representation within travel writing, one needs to firstly understand the atmosphere in which that representation took place. The denigration of communist eastern Europe, or more specifically of the Soviet Union, forms one of the worst cases of othering in Britain's long history of cultural binarism, comparable in scale and venom to the nineteenth-century discourse on the colonies, or on Germany in the early and middle twentieth century. The Soviet east was a region of enduring menace, whose potent

⁸⁷ Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, p. 286. See also Glenny, *Balkans*, pp. 522-3. John Lukacs mentions that the Churchill-Stalin deal was not known to local leaders: 'It was not the first time', he writes, 'that the statesmen and ambassadors of central-eastern European nations learned the truth in bitter exile [...] about how their nations had been dissected or dealt with from the memoir instalments published in the rosy, homey pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal* or the *Saturday Evening Post*' (Lukacs, *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (New York: American Book Company, 1953), p. 626.

admixture of alien ideology and nuclear capability entered and moulded the consciousness of the several Cold War generations.⁸⁸ Gaddis argues that the years from 1945 to 1989 formed a sort of 'peace', an era of 'great power stability' comparable to those of the nineteenth century,⁸⁹ yet one wonders what kind of stability this was for embattled mass publics whose fears of imminent catastrophe were less akin to those of populations at peace than to populations under siege.⁹⁰ The strategies in this ideological war, which saturated political discourse and cultural production, were so often composed of myth-making, rhetoric and representation 'rooted in primal notions of heaven [...] and hell',⁹¹ playing on the anxieties of the polity to build up loyal, consensual domestic populations. Indeed, Kaldor, after Foucault, calls Cold War propaganda a 'disciplinary technology', a mode of social control which in communist east and democratic west entrenched hegemonic value systems, sustained social cohesion, and manufactured climates of emergency that in turn facilitated both domestic control and

⁸⁸ In a study of Cold War representation, Spiering finds the Russians conceived as 'philistines, drunkards, rapists and looters', but also as 'shrewd plotters [...] with a considerable amount of psychological insight', who 'understand what hurts people and nations most and who are thus capable of obtaining [...] absolute control' (Spiering, *Englishness*, 1992), pp. 155-6. The fact that the Soviets had managed 'to achieve rough military parity' (Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, p. 334) with the western powers by 1970 is crucial here.

⁸⁹ Gaddis, *Long Peace*, p. 245.

⁹⁰ For an enumeration of the millions who in fact died during the various conflicts of the Cold War, see Inglis, *Cruel Peace*, pp. 426-7.

⁹¹ Richard Stites, 'Heaven and Hell: Soviet Propaganda Constructs the World', in Rawnsley, ed. *Cold War Propaganda*, p. 86. Rawnsley's excellent volume argues that propaganda was fundamental to Cold War strategy, and that 'the practice of international relations was no longer the preserve of governments and foreign policy elites, but required the mobilization of entire populations' (Rawnsley, 'Introduction' to *Ibid.*, p. 3). Medhurst also writes that '[a] Cold War is, by definition, a rhetorical war, a war fought with words, speeches, pamphlets, public information (or disinformation) campaigns, slogans, gestures, symbolic actions, and the like' (Martin J Medhurst, et al, *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. xiv). Gaddis repeats the point when he says '[t]he great antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union has become encrusted, over the years, with successive layers of [...] tradition, myth, and legend' (Gaddis, *Long Peace*, p. 20). A speech written by George Kennan, known as the Truman Doctrine, is a fine example in kind: 'Unwillingly', it runs, 'our free society finds itself mortally challenged by the Soviet system. No other value system is so wholly irreconcilable with ours, so implacable in its purpose to destroy ours, so capable of turning to its own uses the most dangerous and divisive trends in our own society, [...], and no other has the support of a great and growing center of military power' (Quoted in W. Scott Lucas, 'Beyond Diplomacy: Propaganda and the History of the Cold War', in Rawnsley, ed., *Cold War Propaganda*, p. 11).

foreign - particularly Third World - intervention.⁹² Behind the knowledge of the other, lay the sinister workings of power.

When judged against such propaganda, the complimentary representations of Cold War travellers appear optimistic, favourable, and not a little subversive. In place of the oppression, prison camps and bread queues of popular and political imagination, travellers like Aldiss posited a society suffused by 'beauty, gaiety and courage',⁹³ replacing lack with plenitude, hostility with friendliness and drabness with warmth and colour, and intimating, as a consequence, that the replacement of state socialism by western democracy so vigorously promoted by the propagandist was not as urgently required as supposed. What greatly compounded this stance against western propaganda was the claim travellers made for a semblance between east and west, the feature I have considered the revelation of much Cold War travel writing.⁹⁴ In a tradition going back to Footman, Lane and Stobart, and whose loss after 1989 is hugely significant, this associative approach to representing the two blocs, which had at its heart notions of the fundamental unity of European cultures, stood against Cold War constructions of a dichotomous continent, and challenged the binaristic denigrations of the east which, as with nineteenth-century discourse on south-east Europe and imperial Russia, was still being deployed to gauge the West's own sense of moral progress and democratic rectitude. When Streeter discovers that in a 'Communist country [...] things [are] just about the same as everywhere else', to add a few more examples, when Brown mentions 'the cause of our common humanity', or when Tennyson writes of 'the average,

⁹² See Kaldor, *Imaginary War*, pp. 4-5, 82-3, 107.

⁹³ Frank Thompson, a SOE operative in Bulgaria, quoted in Inglis, *Cruel Peace*, p. 17. For the focus on friendship, see, for example, Andrew, *Bulgaria and Romania*, p. 3; Emerson, *Albania*, pp. 43, 58-9, 70; Brown, *Yugoslav Life*, p. 66-7; Dibble, *Return Tickets*, pp. 194, 249; Ryalls, *Bulgaria*, pp. 7, 9, 14, 89; Mackintosh, *Rumania*, p. 27. Travel writers also expressed love for the region and its peoples, and the fact of feeling *at home* there: see, for example, C.P. Snow, 'Foreword' to Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, pp. 5-6; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 60-1; Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. 172; Emerson, *Albania*, p. 22; O'Connor, *Walking Good*, pp. 12; Kindersley, *Mountains*, p. 254; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 4, 105.

⁹⁴ See my p. 247 above. One aspect of this revelation was that moment in the text when writers simply stated that communist south-east Europe was not at all like the stereotype: see, for example, Mackintosh, *Rumania*, p. 22, 34; Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle*, p. 255; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 7, 95-6; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 202-3; Dennis-Jones, *Yugoslavia*, p. 127; Ward, *Bulgaria*, p. 94; Streeter, *Along the Ridge*, pp. 146-151, 193-4; Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, pp. 66, 195; Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, p. 9; Creon, *London Istanbul*, p. 34; Tornquist, *Look East*, pp. 11, 207, 279.

unsensational daylight of Communism',⁹⁵ one finds a problematisation of political hierarchy, and a resistance to that disciplinary mechanism that sought to control western populations by threats of the other. Of course, one cannot say that theirs was a truer vision of the peninsula as a consequence. Philip Taylor's point that the two ideological opponents, in staring out 'through the Iron Curtain, [...] 'were in fact seeing a reflection of themselves, that the curtain was in fact more of a mirror reflecting back their own hopes and fears',⁹⁶ stands as much for those who projected virtue onto the other as those who projected hatred and fear. The complimentary mode, however, does seem more constructive.

A point that enhanced this apparent departure from official state discourse was the proximity of the Balkan concept to western socialist views of the region. The pilgrimage of left-wing writers to eastern Europe had been taking place since 1917, forming a kind of sub-genre of eastern travel which continued to valorise, or express profound disillusionment with, the socialist experiment until well into the 1980s. On the Balkans, travellers or commentators such as Pierre Courtade, William Bland and William Ash in Albania, Alan Ryalls and A.L. Haskell in Bulgaria, David Tornquist in Yugoslavia and Andrew MacKenzie in Romania each raised their voice in support of south-east European communism, and did so in a manner that was not radically different from the styles of national advocacy found in British balkanism since the First World War.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Streeter, *Along the Ridge*, p. 151; Brown, *Yugoslav Life*, p. 182; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, p. 63. Adding to this subversion of binary notions of Europe were three features commonly seen in inter-war travel texts (see my Chapter 4, pp. 195-201): the discovery of historical or cultural links between Britain and the Balkans; the negative comparison of British and Balkan mores; and the criticism of western political activity. For instances of the first, see Whelpton, *Dalmatia*, pp. 71, 151, 156; Kindersley, *Mountains*, p. 81; Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, p. 491. For instances of the second, see Rhodes, *Dalmatian Coast*, pp. 89-90, 130; Tennyson, *Tito Lifts the Curtain*, pp. 122, 212-3; Tornquist, *Look East*, p. 14. For instances of the third, see Rayner, *Women in a Village*, pp. 126-7; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, p. 200; Chamberlain, *Communist Mirror*, pp. 9-11, 93, 96, 153; Smiley, *Albanian Assignment*, p. 155; Barker, *Truce in the Balkans*, pp. 26, 84-5, 255-6.

⁹⁶ Philip Taylor, 'Through a Glass Darkly? The Psychological Climate and Psychological Warfare of the Cold War', in Rawnsley, ed., *Cold War Propaganda*, p. 226. Kaldor also argues that the Cold War enemy 'became a blank sheet on which to sketch the mirror image of one's own preoccupations' (Kaldor, *Imaginary War*, p. 44).

⁹⁷ For a flavour of their complimentary treatment of the communist states, see Bland, *Short Guide*, pp. 5-11, 17, 22, 33; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 25-7, 32, 80-6, 103-7, 137, 182-7, 201-2; Ryalls, *Bulgaria*, pp. 67-8, 85; Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle*, pp. 84-6 100-7, 130-1, 136-65, 213-4, 256-8; Tornquist,

Despite the occasional slip into polemics, statistics, or transcriptions of political speeches, the focus was firmly on the solid Enlightenment virtues of order, tolerance, harmony, rationality and progress, as well as on such markers of the cultural-national unit as folk customs and national mythology. Clearly aware of their readership, such writers also attempted to evoke sympathy via pastoral representation. MacKenzie's *Romanian Journey* (1983), for example, written as Ceauşescu's wretched austerity programme was taking effect, nevertheless constructs a world of delightful cultural tradition, claiming that Romania has maintained 'a way of life that has all but vanished in the West', and that it is 'tradition that mattered above everything else.'⁹⁸ In short, this was exactly the mode of signification deployed by general travellers, a point which reiterates the political implications of their work. Their portraits of glorious historical evolution and of the states' clear progress on the pre-war monarchies also favour the communist regimes, particularly with the occasional usage of local sources. Gardiner's usage of Albanian ministerial propaganda, Mackintosh's depictions of religious freedom in Romania, or Aldiss's assertion that Yugoslavia had foregone the "police state" rule' of early years and developed into 'the most tolerable system of communism on earth', where things are getting better all the time',⁹⁹ for example, all suggest a signifying practice very close to socialist discourse.¹⁰⁰

Look East, pp. 12-3, 59, 127-38, 279-88, 297-8; Courtade, *Albania*, pp. 9-13, 31-3, 39-43, 49, 65-6; Haskells, *Heroes and Roses*, pp. 2-3, 30, 39, 59-77, 147-51, 161-3.

⁹⁸ MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 199, 202.

⁹⁹ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 11-23; Mackintosh, *Rumania*, p. 22; Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 32, 178, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Collaboration with national discourse is ubiquitous. There are, for example, texts which despite the author showing no overt socialist sympathy are unequivocal in their support of a state's nationhood and modernity (see the representational patterns in Dennis-Jones's *Yugoslavia*, Cusack's *Illyria Reborn*, Mackintosh's *Rumania* and Whelpton's *Dalmatia*). Similarly, love is expressed for national culture (see Edwards, *Yugoslav Coast*, pp. 236-55; Ward, *Bulgaria*, pp. 41-7, 60-5, 126-8, 256-7), glowing accounts given of Balkan history (see Andrew, *Bulgaria and Romania*, pp. 22-8; Courtade, *Albania*, p. 7; Dennis-Jones, *Romania*, pp. 74, 115, 117-9; Krippner, *Yugoslavia Invites*, pp. 159-62, 186-7), and - contradicting western propaganda - appreciation shown for religious freedoms (see Ward, *Bulgaria*, pp. 187, 241-8; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, p. 185; Ryalls, *Bulgaria*, p. 110; MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 26-7, 80-3, 182). For the use of local sources (including political speeches), see Courtade, *Albania*, pp. 16-31, 48, 52-3, 56-58, 61-3; Krippner, *Yugoslavia Invites*, p. 5; Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle*, pp. 116-8, 198-9, 263; Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, pp. 59-60, 62-3, 65, 82. For the claim that communism improved upon pre-war realities, see, amongst many examples, Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, pp. 34, 36, 76; Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 13-4, 37-8, 137-8; Ryalls, *Bulgaria*, p. 68; Bland, *Short Guide*, p. 5.

It is undoubtedly true that there are limits to the notion that Cold War balkanism was supportive of communism. Its brand of national loyalty was not as persuasive, firstly, as the inter-war advocacy for the monarchical dictatorships of, say, Albania or Romania, regimes no less dubious in structure and practice than the Hoxha and Ceauşescu administrations yet far more successfully evoked. The persuasiveness and power of former advocacy derived from the romantic magnetism with which writers imbued the tribal and regal leaders, the reputed charm and culture of national symbols like Zog, Alexander and Marie heightening the infectious confidence with which the traveller portrayed their nations. It is this confidence that is palpably absent after 1945: travellers rarely, if ever, make mention of political leaders (apart from the occasional tribute to Tito); they play down the ideology driving the state systems, and, as Aldiss exemplifies, tend to succumb to ambivalence when they broach the material achievements of those systems. Their overt reliance on past landscapes, similarly, not only infers doubts about the present, but also indicates a serious loss of engagement with place. Moreover, there emerged in political representation what can only be considered a lack of relevance. The inter-war travellers' insistence on the links between Britain and the Balkans,¹⁰¹ and the compelling pertinence of the peninsula to Great Power relations in the 1910s and 1930s, faded as the hostilities and loyalties of the Atomic Age centred on 'the Russian-American struggle',¹⁰² the Balkans assuming in travel writing the same air of provinciality it had had during the Ottoman years. In fact, the mores of socialism - the state farms, five-year plans, youth marches, socialist slogans - are very rarely invested with the import of the ancient systems of faith and practice lauded by Durham, Hall and West. In more critical moments, the honour, resilience and 'spirit' of local people appear not the *result* of the system they live in but achieved *despite* that system, the people deserving of

¹⁰¹ See my Chapter 4, pp. 199-201.

¹⁰² Lukacs's phrase: John Lukacs, *A History of the Cold War* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961), p. 48. Glenny makes the point that '[w]estern interest in the Balkans subsided soon after the imposition of communist rule', the region eclipsed in the 1950s by events in east-central Europe: see Glenny, *Balkans*, p. 551. At times, travel writers attempt to aggrandise the importance of their study, though not always with success: Haskell's claim that 'a small country can harbour a great influence', for example, while pertinent in terms of Albania or Yugoslavia on the eve of 1939, is undeveloped in his study of Cold War Bulgaria, and lacks any clear reference (see Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, p. 4). Similarly, MacKenzie's urgent wish that we understand the 'real' Romania is unsupported by compelling argument, and appears perfunctory when considering the very real need to understand - and improve relations with - the Soviet Union (see MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, pp. 202-3).

'admiration', as Gardiner puts it, 'because they tolerated a system which [...] was intolerable.'¹⁰³

The sense of disfavour towards communism is heightened when acknowledging one vital feature of Cold War travel writing: its aversion to Soviet Russia. The fear and abhorrence of the 'evil empire' is so typical of non-socialist writers, and inscribes in their work such a central tenet of official rhetoric, that one begins to wonder whether favourable representation of the Balkans was facilitated by the very same distance from this superpower that concurrently evoked their provincialism. After 1945, the British policy of frustrating German, Austrian and Russian ambition in the region had merely passed to the frustration of Soviet expansionism, the West hoping to influence the Balkan states by extending trade benefits, issuing currency credit and - whatever the anti-communist rhetoric - diplomatically vetting any leader who made a stand against the Kremlin. The strategy was most evident in the case of Yugoslavia, which, after Tito's break with Stalin in 1948, had revealed to a delighted West the fallibility of Soviet imperialism. Maclean's hope 'that in the end nationalism might triumph over Communism' and Tito excel as a 'ruler of an independent Yugoslav State, rather than as 'Cominterm agent,'¹⁰⁴ presages the consequent apologism for non-aligned Yugoslavia evident in British writing from the 1950s to the late 1980s. Aldiss, for example, asserts that 'Yugoslavia is nobody's satellite', Krippner extols its 'total independence of Moscow,' and Edwards insists that 'Soviet models are too rigid [for] a people as individual as the Yugoslavs.'¹⁰⁵ This was repeated in travel writing elsewhere, even in

¹⁰³ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁴ Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, pp. 403, 341. Glennie writes that with western 'strategic planners [...] confident that Yugoslavia would declare for NATO in the event of war with the Soviet Union', and with the beauty of the former's coastline, the impression was of 'a balmy communism' one 'could support with good conscience', Yugoslavia soon becoming the place where 'Western Europe's liberal intelligentsia took their holidays': Glennie, *Balkans*, pp. 570-1, 588, 588. In 1949, the American Secretary of State famously said of the Yugoslav leader that the man was a "son-of-a-bitch" but at least he was "our son-of-a-bitch" (quoted in Gaddis, *Long Peace*, pp. 158-9). The US delight at Tito's break with Stalin, and its attempts to encourage the spread of 'Titoism' (or the resistance to Sovietisation) are summarised in Gaddis, *Long Peace*, pp. 158-161, 188.

¹⁰⁵ Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 15; Krippner, *Yugoslavia Invites*, p. 33; Edwards, *Yugoslavia*, p. 44. For other examples in kind, see Tornquist, *Look East*, pp. 23, 41; Sommeliuss, *Iron Gates*, p. 48; Raynor, *Women in a Village*, pp. 81-3; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, pp. 149-150; Galbraith, *Journey*, pp. 74-5; Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, pp. viii, 57, 78, 88, 107, 127; Newman, *Mediterranean Background*, pp. 156-62.

socialist travelogues: Haskell distinguishes Bulgarian 'democracy' from the Soviet model, for example, and MacKenzie praises Romania's 'independent role' from its larger neighbour.¹⁰⁶ Far from departing from official discourse, then, travellers actually upheld the major function of Cold War strategy: the containment of the Soviets. Once such loyalty is acknowledged, one starts finding evidence of a much deeper allegiance to home values. The attempted valorisation of modernity, industry, tourism and education was, after all, the valorisation of western ideals and practices; as Okey points out, Eastern Europe during the period was indeed 'coming to resemble the West, with its 'increasingly homogeneous, literate, urban-orientated consumer society of television watchers and sports followers [...], whose chief ambitions were a family car and a foreign holiday';¹⁰⁷ it was often these attributes which were endorsed by travellers.

Yet the inevitable, albeit paradoxical outcome of endorsing western mores was still support for the communist states. The travel writers put into circulation a body of representation which mirrored the Balkan regimes' own self-fashioning (also based on achievements like consumer wealth, modernity and independence from Moscow), itself justifying the favourable way in which the West was approaching these regimes, which in turn justified the complimentary imaginings of travel writers - a precarious, circular discourse that somehow maintained an efficacy until well into the 1980s. Needless to say, the outcome for the Balkan peoples of this web of representation was catastrophic, as Ceaușescu's Romania best illustrates. After the dictator's denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Romania was viewed like Yugoslavia, a nation more inclined towards NATO than the Warsaw Pact, and as a result Ceaușescu was feted by western leaders, with state visits by Harold Wilson, de Gaulle and Nixon, and lavish hospitality bestowed in return by the 'decadent' West, including a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth and ready loans from western banks and governments.¹⁰⁸ At a time

¹⁰⁶ Haskell, *Heroes and Roses*, p. 6 (Haskell is not opposed to the Soviet Union, it should be said); MacKenzie, *Romanian Journey*, p. 201. For other examples, see Archer, *Balkan Journal*, p. 63 (who opposes both Russian and German imperialism); Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, p. 38; Portway, *Double Circuit*, pp. 60-1, 67-9; Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle*, pp. 181, 255; Barker, *Truce in the Balkans*, pp. 44-8, 82-6. Russophobia is a leitmotif in Gunther's work: see *Inside Europe*, pp. 338-41, 357-60, and *Behind Europe's Curtain*, pp. 28, 30, 113-4, 118.

¹⁰⁷ Okey, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 220-1.

¹⁰⁸ For details of the dictator's western patronage, see Mark Almond, *The Rise and Fall of Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu* (London: Chapmans, 1992), pp. 142-5. Glenny records that after Ceaușescu's condemnation of the events of 1968, Washington 'indicated unofficially that NATO would go to war if

when Romania was sliding into police surveillance, political terror and austerity, '[t]his flirtation with one of the nastiest dictators in Eastern Europe', as Glenny indicates, 'had a deeply demoralizing effect on Romania's opposition.'¹⁰⁹ The praise, awards and gifts offered to Ceaușescu and his wife were endlessly disseminated within the country, from media broadcasts to museum displays, and even for those not taken in by this surge of global popularity, the natural response to such reports was dejection, a pessimism that anything could be done to depose the leader. In this interplay of foreign and domestic representation, the work of travel writers was central. Their positive representation of Romania (or Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania), and their downplaying of state iniquity, disseminated and entrenched the official images of the nation, thus 'reinforcing Ceaușescu's standing at home' and 'lengthening his rule.'¹¹⁰ This was not simply naive, politically-innocent travel writing, in other words, but hard-hitting discourse ultimately complicit with power.

It is of some interest - to conclude - that the deterioration in regard to the Balkans, the ending of Cold War valorisation, took place at exactly the time that the Balkans lost strategic importance. After the 1970s, banks, governments and bodies like the International Monetary Fund were less keen to extend credit to eastern Europe than to receive repayments, a fact which - combined with serious trade deficits and EEC protectionism - played its part in such problems as Romanian austerity or Yugoslav unrest.¹¹¹ Just as in the Edwardian period, when the West slowly gained economic control over the Balkans, so it seemed that the late Cold War was also turning the latter into western satellite states, the West's financial policy having a tremendous, deleterious effect on the peninsula's economic and political life. And just as this occurred, with very little warning, denigration took over the field of balkanism. It is this apparently coincidental, though profoundly productive, association between representation and western political strategy that will form my theme as we turn to the crises and interventions of the contemporary period.

the Soviets moved against Romania'[595], and also that '[a]s late as 1987, [...] the Reagan administration was determined to extend Romania's most-favoured-nation trading status'[607] due to the same belief that Ceaușescu opposed Moscow.

¹⁰⁹ Glenny, *Balkans*, p. 607.

¹¹⁰ Almond, *Rise and Fall*, p. 143.

¹¹¹ See Glenny, *Balkans*, p. 607; Okey, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 234-5.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RETURN TO DENIGRATION

Before considering the return to denigration, it is a useful idea to put the last seventy-five years in the history of the Balkan concept into perspective. In the period from 1914 to 1989, a period one could call the short twentieth century, between the first intimation of empire's end and the final triumph of global capital, when two world wars were conducted, communism rose and fell, and the United States emerged as sole superpower, the small region of the Balkans had remained a favourable marker in British imaginative geography. This does not mean, simply, that the region's landscape was considered agreeable and its customs quaint. In an era when British cross-cultural discourse - on its Soviet and Axis enemies - proved as vehement and uncompromising as ever, the Balkan peninsula was deemed a haven of positive significance for the British traveller, with not just its human communities treated with fondness and friendship, but its modes of social life valorised, its cultural production acclaimed, and its history and state systems lauded in a manner that collapsed the boundaries between balkanism and the south-east European states' own national discourses. It is against this discursive background that the return to the Balkans as 'dystopian nightmare'¹ must be considered. Amongst the upheavals and transitions of the late twentieth century, the Balkan concept also underwent transformation, turning from favourable representation to an image of south-east European publics as either mutually-destructive antagonists or dangerous immigrants, as the eastern hordes at the gate.

The chapter will not argue that the Balkans are a wholly innocent victim of western discourse. There is no doubt that certain events in the region over the past decade have helped to facilitate denigratory modes of representation, with all their catastrophic political and economic consequences. What I hope to show, however, is not

¹ Simon Winchester, *The Fracture Zone: A Return to the Balkans* (London: Viking, 1999), p. 114.

only that these representations conveniently fulfil specific requirements of western culture, but that it is within western culture itself that one finds the major cause for both their circulation and extremity; namely, a paradoxical combination of postmodern scepticism and official political rhetoric. I shall be looking at political rhetoric, and its construction of the Balkans as civilisational other, later in the chapter. In the main, it is postmodern scepticism (whose rise during the Cold War I touched upon in Chapter 5) which will concern me here, and while acknowledging the problems within the region itself, I shall be sourcing contemporary denigration in the breakdown of those discourses - nationalism, modernity, communism, romanticism - upon which much twentieth-century western thought was founded, and with which complimentary balkanism had interacted. Most obviously, nationalism had begun to give way to what one writer terms the 'cosmopolitan ethic', or the 'post-nationalist consciousness',² which failed to find in the present round of nation-building in the Balkans the loyalties and idealism their forebears found in the First and Second World Wars. Similarly, the socialist ideology that inspired certain Cold War travel writers had been steadily dwindling, and after the collapse of eastern European communism had proved unworkable as an interpretative matrix.³ Then again, there was still antipathy towards enlightened modernity and progress, but this was neither infused with the romanticisation of the pre-modern, a process far too identified now with hippiedom or New Ageism, nor informed by the humanism exhibited by earlier generations. After the last gasp of modernism in the idealistic counter-cultures of the 1960s, particularly after the loss of political alternatives to global capital in 1989, a profound scepticism set in not only about the West, about both its hegemonic narratives and its narratives of emancipation, but also about the belief that through travel to non-western regions one could escape the massive forces of

² Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, new ed. (1993; London: Vintage, 1994), pp. 7, 9. As he goes on to point out, the distaste with which cosmopolitans responded to the reemergence of nationalism in the Balkans ignores the fact that 'a cosmopolitan, post-nationalist spirit will always depend [...] on the capacity of nation states to provide security and civility for their citizens' [9].

³ In her study of Foucault, Clare O'Farrell notes the early disillusionment with socialism amongst the most radical and influential thinkers of the latter half of the twentieth century, with Foucault leaving the French Communist Party in 1950, after the Soviet trial of a group of Jewish doctors on the charge of treason, and a veritable 'exodus' from the party after 1956, with Khrushchev's report on Stalinism and the brutality of the Soviet's response to the Hungarian revolution (see O'Farrell, *Foucault: Historian or Philosopher?* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 1-5.

bureaucratisation and technologisation that increasingly penetrated social existence, and find some other ground of truth. It is this scepticism that delimits the age, with Lyotard defining the 'postmodern as incredulity towards metanarratives', and Foucault associating metanarrative, or modes of knowledge formation, with 'totalitarianism and terror'.⁴ At some point in the late twentieth century, the attempt to escape modernity became an acceptance of belatedness, of there being no other alternative to western mores; this profoundly affected the way a region like south-east Europe was represented.⁵

In this shift from romanticism to world-weary cynicism, it was not just that the Balkans became viewed as a region lacking strategic importance in post-Cold War thinking, with there being no ideological motive for involvement, but also that the region attained something of a distant, even illusory quality in the British imaginary. I am drawing here on Stjepan Meštrović's reading of western political and media approaches to the Bosnia conflict in *The Balkanization of the West* (1994). Meštrović works from Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality, that notion of our contemporary culture as a society of the spectacle, or of the media, in which imagery is so prevalent that the boundary between fact and fiction is blurred, and the individual becomes merely a consumer of simulations of reality, lacking in coherence, depth or ethical consequence. In a world where superficiality and scepticism predominate, the manifestation of sympathy and moral commitment in response to large-scale crises like the Bosnian conflict is replaced by voyeurism, or 'the business of war-watching'.⁶ In fact, as Meštrović argues, the western treatment of Bosnia somewhat vindicates Baudrillard's thesis, with not only

⁴ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. xxiv; Waugh, *Postmodernism*, p. 6.

⁵ This belatedness was a part of the 'post-culture', the 'fatigue of the late-comer' in Connor's phrase (Connor, *Postmodernist Culture*, p. 65) where modernity has eradicated romance. By this account, not only is '[e]verything [...] now organised and planned' in the postmodern West, where 'nature has been triumphantly blotted out' (Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism; Or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 309), but it is also 'tacitly assume[d] that the rest of the world will have to follow suit' (Bertens, *Idea of the Postmodern*, p. 10). The pre-modern is just modernity-in-waiting, or a failed modernity, not a source of revelation. Edmund Keeley exhibits perfectly this sense that the romanticisation of the pre-modernity is no longer possible, in Keeley, *Albanian Journal: The Road to Elbasan* (Fredonia, New York: White Wine Press, 1997), pp. 47-8.

⁶ Meštrović, *The Balkanization of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 79.

the media engaging in 'Balkan war-watching' but also political administrations spending '[m]illions upon millions of dollars' on 'United Nations *monitors*, European Community *observers* [...] Helsinki Watch *watchers*, Amnesty International observers' as part of the West's political approach to the tragedy, all 'while Balkan people continue[d] to suffer.'⁷ What compounded this distantiation from the suffering was the West's refusal (both in political pronouncement and unofficial intellectual output) to find virtue or credibility in any of the 'warring factions', as they were termed. As if postmodern relativism had entered western governments, the discourses by which each party justified its position were all cynically deconstructed as forms of fiction-making, as a glossing over of culpability, a process that entrenched the official claim that all sides were equally guilty for atrocities.⁸ The outcome is typically postmodernist - the vicarious thrill of the spectacle, yet no obligation to do anything to help; 'which is more remarkable,' Meštrović asks, with regard to the victims of Serbian aggression, 'the explosion of the

⁷ Ibid., p. 79. This anger at the West's voyeuristic treatment of the Yugoslav wars is repeated by Slavenka Drakulić, *Café Europa: Life After Communism* (London: Abacus, 1996), p. 213; Zlatko Dizdarević, *Sarajevo: A War Journal*, trans. Anselm Hollo and Ammiel Alcalay (New York: Fromm, 1993), pp. 178, 182-3; Elma Softić, *Sarajevo Days, Sarajevo Nights*, trans. Nada Conić (Toronto: Key Porter, 1995), pp. 26, 40; and interviewees in Janine di Giovanni, *The Quick and the Dead: Under Siege in Sarajevo* (London: Phoenix House, 1994), p. 142, and David Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West*, new ed. (1995; London: Vintage, 1995), p. 224. At times, western journalists also questioned the gaze of the media: Peter Morgan, *A Barrel of Stones: In Search of Serbia* (Aberystwyth: Planet, 1997), pp. 2-3, 7-8; Martin Bell, *In Harm's Way: Reflections of a War Zone Thug* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1995), pp. 225, 253 ('Are we not all battlefield voyeurs of one sort or another [...]?' Bell asks of journalists [253]).

⁸ On the issue of relativism, Meštrović and Cushman contrast the contemporary intellectual's response to the Bosnian conflict to intellectuals' response to the Spanish Civil War, the latter based on moral stance and action, the former merely on the detached location and observation of plurality. They write: 'The calling of the modern leftist [or postmodernist] is not, as it was in George Orwell's time, to morally sound positions, but to the defence of all positions and the refusal to disavow some positions, even the positions of evildoers. Thus, the fact that genocide is occurring in Europe in the 1990s is not taken at face value, but is subjected immediately to the impulses of the postmodern age: disbelief, deconstruction, questioning, and ambivalence' (Thoman Cushman and Stjepan G. Meštrović, 'Introduction' to Cushman and Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1996), p. 12. Agee also contrasts responses to the Bosnian war and the Spanish Civil War, asking of the former: 'Where were the Hemingways and Don Passos, the Pazs and Koestlers and Spenders, the Orwells and Audens, the Malraux and Weils?' (Chris Agee, 'Introduction' to Agee, ed., *Scar on the Stone: Contemporary Poetry from Bosnia* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books, 1998), p. 27.

savage id in the Balkans [...], or the refusal of the world's television-viewing public to put an end to the barbarism?"⁹

The West's response to the Yugoslav wars was to set the tone for the conceptualisation of the whole peninsula. Just as Britain's allegiance to Serbia during the First World War initiated the valorisation of the Balkans in general, so the denigration of the Yugoslav people was central to the wider discursive recovery of Victorian balkanism, the assessments and accusations that marked western commentary on Yugoslavia quickly spreading to encompass all post-revolution societies, and helping to make the Balkans once again a byword for mendacity and savagery.¹⁰ Indeed, for western commentators working elsewhere in the peninsula, the representation of Yugoslavia formed a pre-arranged interpretative framework that needed very little modification when accounting for Romanian orphanages, Bulgarian poverty, Albanian anti-government protests, or any of those other post-communist crises on which western journalists and travel writers dwelt. It is this obsessive hunting down of the negative, and erasure of any functioning virtue, with which I shall be concerned in this chapter. Most importantly, I shall posit the view that, whatever Baudrillard's notion of circulating fictions, the scepticism and voyeurism that drives denigration has effects in the material sphere, and I shall be analysing the very real political and economic outcomes of representation below. While maintaining focus on postmodern scepticism, the chapter also aims to clarify the links between today's signifying practice and the styles, concerns and registers of Victorian conceptualisation. As I explored in Chapter 3, there are no cultural markers which cannot be interpreted in two divergent, even dichotomous ways; whereas the war generation took the motifs of Victorian balkanism and re-evaluated them (from

⁹ Meštrović, *Balkanisation of the West*, p. 85. Meštrović also writes: 'Whereas Hitler's Final Solution was carried out largely in secret [...], most of the atrocities in this Balkan War were documented, studied, monitored, observed, witnessed, reported, and above all, televised. Surviving victims of Serbian aggression in the 1990s would ask, "Doesn't the world know what is going on?" The question implies that had the world [...] known the reality of the horrors that were occurring, it would have put a stop to them. The answer seems to be that yes, the world did know, but it stood by passively while Serbia conquered its neighbours and committed atrocious war crimes'[85].

¹⁰ It should be pointed out that although greatly facilitating the hegemony of denigratory balkanism in the 1990s, the Yugoslav wars did not inaugurate that balkanism. As argued in Chapter 5, the paradigm was already beginning to emerge in the 1980s, and was exhibited in such texts as Harding's *In Another Europe*, Whittell's *Lambada Country*, Gioia and Thurlow's *Brief Spring*, on non-Yugoslav journeys, in the early 1990s.

backwardness to simplicity, chaos to order, discord to unity, obfuscation to clarity), what occurred in the late 1980s was a swing back to the original signification, even though that signification was now invested with cynicism and world-weariness rather than Victorian imperial certainty. What the chapter aims to ask, finally, is whether the discursive similarities between contemporary balkanism and Victorianism also indicate the presence of the same (neo-)imperialist power.

The return to Victorian balkanism is perhaps best exemplified by the resurgence of the trope of obfuscation. After the Cold War, travel writing severed all connection to tourism, with its discourse of knowability and accessibility, and forged new connections to the adventure narrative, with its tropes of travail and mystery, there now being few parts of the globe, supposedly, 'where the truth was more complex, more fundamentally unknowable'¹¹ than the Balkans. A text that exemplifies the imputation of enigma and secrecy is Helena Drysdale's *Looking for George* (1996), a thrilleresque travelogue set in post-Ceausescu Romania. The author's ostensible purpose in the country is a search for an Orthodox priest (the eponymous George) with whom she developed a friendship during an earlier visit in 1979, and she brings to the story all the devices of fiction, not least suspense and mystery. Romania, she establishes early on, is a land sunk in 'remoteness, buried as it were in the back regions of Europe,' where even the physical landscape conspires to bewilder and mislead, with its 'dark strange country' and 'sprawling' towns 'pitted with rubble and hoardings and nascent modernist blocks' that lack 'any clear centre.'¹² The human landscape is just as bewildering, for the surveillance of the secret police in both past and present regimes (for Romania is 'still run by secretive thugs'¹³) has produced a people beset by 'mistrust and paranoia'[185], who not

¹¹ Brian Hall's comment, ostensibly about Yugoslavia: Hall, *The Impossible Country: A Journey through the Last Days of Yugoslavia* new ed. (1994; London: Mineva, 1996), p. 8. For other accusations of obscurantism or deceit, see *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 239, 344; Rory MacLean, *Stalin's Nose: Across the Face of Europe*, new ed. (1992; London: Flamingo, 1993), pp. 153, 168, 173, 182-3; Andrew Mueller, '24 Hours from Tuzla' in Mueller, *Rock and Hard Places* (London: Virgin, 1999), p. 64; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. xvi, 7, 26, 36, 39-40, 53, 95, 174, 214; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 49, 183, 203, 213, 226; Natascha Scott-Stokes, *The Amber Trail: A Journey of Discovery by Bicycle, from the Baltic Sea to the Aegean*, new ed. (1993; London: Phoenix, 1994), pp. 130, 143, 181, 185-6; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. 35, 64-9, 164; Harding, *Another Europe*, pp. 15, 54, 88, 91, 115, 157; Jeremy James, *Vagabond* (London: Pelham, 1991), p. 27.

¹² Drysdale, *Looking for George: Love and Death in Romania* new ed. (1995; London and Basingstoke: Picador, 1996), pp. 11, 48, 120, 157, 120.

¹³ Tobias Wolff, 'Foreword' to *Ibid.*, p. xii.

only 'scented a conspiracy around every corner'[102], but who also 'hid secrets of their own little compromises'[64]. Romania is, to sum up, 'a Theatre of the Absurd'[80] in which the 'entire population was slightly mad'[231]. In this atmosphere of derangement and evasiveness, Drysdale's search for George - round institutions, monasteries, the family village - becomes mired in difficulty. As she puts it:

Again and again I blundered against Romanian subtlety. Hoping that sixteen months after the revolution I would be able to talk freely about George, I realised, often too late, that almost everyone had something to hide. Intrigue, bluff and double bluff: it was not just the recent stifling years of Communism, but centuries of artful survival under Turks, Phanariots, Habsburgs and feudal Boyars. This was an old people, old and sophisticated. [3]

Significantly, obfuscation is seen as innate, the people essentialised both temporally, with their age-old mendacity unchanged after the revolution, and spatially, with this passion for intrigue and invention exhibited by everyone, not just the ruling system - an instance of how the aversion that Cold War writers sometimes showed to the Balkan state was, in the post-Cold War era, turned on entire populations. In fact, the dominant sense of Balkan peoples in the period is of an undifferentiated mass, the eastern hordes, a suspicion Drysdale confirms by her claim that the Romanian 'lack of individuality, the *we* as opposed to the *I* was a feature of 'the general Orthodox make-up'.¹⁴ Indeed, she goes on to interpret George's crime (it transpires that he is killed by the *Securitate* for bucking the system) is his determination to gain 'personal freedom' and 'self-esteem'[188] away from the crowd, to be an individual in the western, post-Enlightenment mould. In this way, Drysdale's search is less into George's personal history than into the nature of the society that denies its citizens such individuality, a quest with no final revelation save of the proverbial frightfulness of the region.

In other words, as with the Victorians, Drysdale's ability to cut through the swathes of obfuscation that the Balkans erect to thwart the rational westerner leads to the discovery of the usual attributes: chaos, savagery and backwardness. Of these, the

¹⁴ Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 149. She also argues that because the 'society [is] based not on individuals but on communal living', there is 'lots of room for power games and bullies; no room for misfits'[106].

motif of backwardness best demonstrates the Victorianism that underpins present conceptualisation. The important fact here is not that the Balkans remain economically behind the West, but that British commentators, despite their presumably liberal sophistication, are still prepared to condemn them for it. When Michael Ignatieff, for example, refers to 'the poverty, backwardness, stubborn second-rateness of ordinary Balkan existence',¹⁵ the judgement is not being made against some fixed, external standard of development, but against the economic and social norms of the West, and the bourgeois West at that - a condition which Ignatieff presumably considers 'first-rate'. Similarly, on Romania, Drysdale chides the 'shapeless clothes', 'lurid make-up' and 'middle-aged hair-dos' of the women, Harding bemoans the 'ecological disaster' caused by outmoded industry, and Fonseca, giving the country's backwardness a moral twist, denounces Romanians' 'dishonesty', 'cheating' and 'fear of work'.¹⁶ The vital feature about this reiteration of Victorian cultural snobbery is that, emerging as it does from a consumerist, post-scarcity society, such criticism is not so much based on the absence of industry or manufacture, but the shoddiness of consumer items, and related shortcomings in advertising, packaging and presentation; western socio-economic conditions are still considered the norm, their absence a deviation.

A good example appears in Bill Bryson's sketch of a visit to Sofia in 1990, contained within his *Neither Here Nor There* (1992). Eschewing the finer details of Bulgaria's economy, industry and trade, which would have intrigued a Crosse or Brown, the sketch's evocation of backwardness is limited solely to shopping, and Bryson's thwarted attempts to *consume*. Such a focus emerges upon his first sighting of Sofia late one evening: amid the communist statuary and darkened streets (which, typically, draw comparison to some Orwellian dystopia), the major feature for the author is the woeful lack of consumer possibilities, with the bars and restaurants 'doing [...] a desultory business' and the windows of the shops 'dark'.¹⁷ On his perambulations the next day, such lack is compounded as the American's consumer gaze goes to work on the shoddy

¹⁵ Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, p. 39.

¹⁶ Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 192 (on p. 21 she records noting 'Extraordinary collection of ugly girls' in her diary: her denigration of Romanian women was not solely aimed at their beauty products); Harding, *Another Europe*, p. 106; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and their Journey*, new ed. (1995; London: Vintage, 1996), pp. 158, 159, 98. Fonseca terms eastern Europeans 'badly dressed white folk' (*Ibid.*, p. 212).

¹⁷ Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There*, p. 119.

merchandise of the commercial district, ticking off an inverted shopping list of 'cheap-looking plastic alarm clocks'[222], 'scraggy meat'[220], 'cruddy teddy bears'[221], 'mustard-brown' socks of 'thin cotton'[221], 'long-handled brushes with no identifiable function'[221] and various other 'unidentifiable odds and ends'[222]. With similar (mock-)horror, Bryson records the wretchedness of the commercial interiors, the shops 'stripped bare' and sunk in 'impenetrable gloom'[221], and restaurants 'poor, plainly lit, with maybe just a factory calendar on the wall and every surface covered in formica'[225]. This is travel writer as consumer correspondent, with the poverty of Sofia's shopping forming a running joke between writer and reader - 'when was the last time you saw a mono hi-fi?'[221] he asks us with a grin. Such 'humour' peaks with his professed love of communist kitsch, an ironic mode of consumerist evaluation based on a self-image of sophistication and superiority. This is best seen in his description of a department store (visited during a trip in 1970s but deposited in his sketch of the present sojourn as if time in Bulgaria were static) which sold

not a single product that appeared to have been produced more recently than 1938 - chunky Bakelite radios, big stubby black fountain pens that looked like something Lord Grade would try to smoke, steam-powered washing machines, that sort of thing. I remember standing in the television and radio department in a crowd of people watching some historical drama in which two actors wearing beards that were hooked over their ears sat talking in a study, the walls of which were clearly painted on canvas. The television had - no exaggeration - a four-inch circular black and white screen and *this* was attracting a crowd. [218]

The treatment of such 1930s-style¹⁸ merchandise is the modern-day equivalent of the nineteenth-century approach to, say, 'primitive' agriculture, similarly treating the Balkans' outlandish backwardness as if it were a piece of absurdity that amuses, but that

¹⁸ Such temporal comparison to the early half of the western twentieth-century (including allusion to Orwell's *1984*), significantly the period preceding post-scarcity consumer society, are ubiquitous: see, for example, Harding, *Another Europe*, pp. 7, 74, 134, 143; John Haggerty, *Letters from a Nobody* (London: Minerva, 1995), p. 31; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 191, 282, 321, 321; Winniffrith, *Shattered Eagles*, p. 75; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 13, 48; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 6; Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There*, p. 218; Arnold, *Down the Danube*, p. 152; Paul Harris, *Cry Bosnia* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995), pp. 34, 40; Ted Simon, *The Gypsy in Me: Crossing Eastern Europe in Search of Youth, Truth and Dad* (London: Viking, 1997), p. 291.

also risks disbelief ('no exaggeration' he assures the reader). Needless to say, although the passage places Bryson *in* the crowd, he remains apart, the ironic, mocking postmodern *flâneur*, or the lazy boulevardier, entering these contemptible spaces of consumption in order to seek out palliatives for his boredom. At the same time, we are not far here from Drysdale's eastern hordes: on the one hand, there is the undifferentiated 'mob' (or the 'queue', to give the thing a uniquely communist slant), 'scavenging for purchasable goods' and 'ready to kill to get one'; on the other, there is Bryson, the detached, mobile individual, dipping into the crowd but always able to 'retreat [...] to the luxurious sanctum of the Sheraton, where I could get cold beers and decent food'.¹⁹ Despite the text's odd moment of favourable representation, the local lack of purchasables Bryson considers so 'depressing'[225] finally that he feels 'as if he could cry'[222]: 'Bulgaria,' he concludes, conflating the act of consumption with life itself, 'isn't a country, it's a near-death experience.'²⁰

If Bryson's emphasis on the backwardness of the Balkans was ubiquitous during the post-Cold War period,²¹ the location of discord was even more so. Whereas

¹⁹ Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There*, pp. 220, 221, 222, 225. In similar evocations of the mob/queue, one writer calls the 'crush' around the stalls at a Bulgarian Industrial Fair 'impenetrable and sinister' (Giles Whittell, *Lambada Country: A Ride across Eastern Europe* (London: Chapmans, 1992), p. 215; and another views the people's 'panic buying' under communism as 'Darwinian': Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 60. One may compare such representation of a local populace to that of Barkley in the nineteenth century or to that of colonial depictions of 'the alien hordes' (see Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 137).

²⁰ Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There*, p. 225. Such imagery reminds one of 'the rhetorical strategy of negation by which Western writing conceives of the Other as absence, emptiness, nothingness, or death' (Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 92). It also reminds us how close writing like Bryson's could come to being 'little more than a series of exaggerated, deeply prejudiced, xenophobic sketches' (Bassnett, 'Travel Writing', p. 13).

²¹ For other charges of backwardness, including a focus on pollution and failed modernity, see Whittell, *Lambada Country*, pp. 135, 161, 166-7, 184, 215; MacLean, *Stalin's Nose*, pp. 156, 163, 174-7; Lloyd Jones, *Biografi: An Albanian Quest* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1993), pp. 18-9, 26, 129-30, 144-5, 169; Una Pride, *What Do I Know About Bulgaria?* (London: Minerva, 1995), pp. 11, 13, 49, 65; Iris Gioia and Clifford Thurlow, *Brief Spring: A Journey through Eastern Europe* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), pp. 134, 151, 173-4, 176, 184, 198-200, 203, 207-14, 218; Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, pp. 37-8, 156, 176-7. Sophie Thurnham's portrait of Romania, typically, mixes material backwardness with moral and political backwardness: see her *Sophie's Journey: The Story of an Aid Worker in Romania* (London: Warner, 1994), pp. 8, 13-6, 21-3, 50-1, 85-90, 93, 104, 111, 117, 120-1, 159, 187-9, 211, 240. For a similar mix, see Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. xv-xvii, 41, 79-81, 104, 108-13, 124, 154, 174, 222, and Robert Carver, *The Accursed Mountains: Journeys in Albania*, new ed. (1998; London: Flamingo, 1999), pp. 26-7, 30-2, 43-65, 74, 98-9, 124-7, 171, 191, 216, 258, 315-20.

militarism and nationalism in south-east Europe were interpreted positively during the inter-war years and Cold War, a sign of the region's heroic struggle for national independence, through the nineteenth-century and the 1990s it has been seen as an indicator of 'petty Balkan imperialism', the interpretation popular amongst reporters, columnists, editorial writers and even academics, as notions of 'tribalism', 'ancient ethnic hatreds' and 'clashes of civilisations'²² came to stand in for genuine attempts to understand the cause of post-communist crises. In travel writing, the approach is the same: Romania, for example, is apparently 'discordant, anarchic, demonic', suffering "a spread of anarchy and confusion"; Albania is 'anarchic and fractious', where 'everyone was at war with everyone else'; and Bulgaria is 'a tundra of human intolerance' where '[o]pen racism is practised'.²³ Certainly, there have been instances of ethnic conflict in the region. But how relevant to these events can the epithet 'Balkan' be, when most of the peninsula, including some of its most ethnically-mixed areas, has remained peaceful, and when racism has simultaneously burgeoned in the West, its prejudice against the Balkans being only the most pertinent instance of its own intolerance and tribalism? And to what extent does the postmodern West's fascination with the spectacle of barbarity, to return to my earlier point, determine the way it overlooks the less spectacular manifestations in the region of that rectitude and forbearance which exist in any human society?

Of course, the country that would seem to justify the location of discord in the Balkans is the former Yugoslavia. A typical illustration of its treatment appears in Robert Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* (1993), a text whose conception of the country is unremittingly negative, failing to find even the smallest cause for optimism, and whose insistent emphasis on strife and antagonism precludes any possibility of social progress or moral redemption. The Balkan peninsula is, he pronounces, 'like the chaos at the beginning of time'.²⁴ The most prominent 'ethnic hatred' to be located is the 'Serb-Croat dispute'[15], though this is merely indicative, the author finding that 'Bosnia is a morass of ethnically

²² For the latter, see Samuel Huntington's 'The Clash of Civilisations?', in *Foreign Affairs* 72, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 30-1, 37-9. See Mazower on the spuriousness of Huntington's claims: Mazower, *Balkans*, p. 64.

²³ Maclean, *Stalin's Nose*, p. 186; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 171; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 164; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 45; Fonseca *Bury Me Standing*, p. 115; Becky Smith, *Bulgarian Diary* (Pulborough, West Sussex: Praxis Books, c. 1995), p. 11.

²⁴ Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 4.

mixed villages', 'full of savage hatreds, leavened by poverty and alcoholism'[22], Macedonia is still 'a power vacuum of sectarian violence'[57] and Kosovo riven by 'violence'[41] and 'racial hatred'[40]. Indeed, so great is the presence of dissension in Kosovo that chaos is inscribed in the very landscape. In his prologue, Kaplan asks whether there is anything singular about 'the places where people commit atrocities'²⁵ ('Is there a bad smell, a genius loci, something about the landscape that might incriminate?'), and he finds just such a phenomenon in Priština, a city which resembles 'a vomit of geodesic, concrete shapes'[48] composed of 'jumble[s] of wooden stalls', 'messy jigsaw[s] of brown brick' and 'prefabricated apartment blocks that appeared to reel like drunks on cratered hillsides'[41]. Here, in short, is all the unpleasantness, conflict and moral disorder that Kaplan finds in the human community, which is beset by sectarianism, alcoholism and physical violence, and where, naturally, he 'd[oes] not feel quite safe'[41]. It is at this point one reaches the snag in Kaplan's viewpoint: if this novelistic device of unifying the qualities of landscape and community does not sound the alarm, then the racist connotations of such sweeping essentialisation should. As I have detailed in Chapter 1, racism is grounded in the racialised construction and negative stereotyping of a social collectivity whose innate shortcomings are imputed to present genuine threat. It is exactly this congenital admixture of evil and menace that one finds in Kaplan's embroiled Yugoslavia, its 'social disintegration and triumph of violence and sexual instinct over the rule of law'[6] seen to offer demonstrable threat to the West. 'Whatever has happened in Beirut or elsewhere happened first, long ago, in the Balkans'[xxiii], he asserts, before claiming that the twentieth century's major evils (terrorism, refugeeism, religious fanaticism, world war) have a Balkan pedigree:

Twentieth-century history came from the Balkans. Here men have been isolated by poverty and ethnic rivalry, dooming them to hate. Here politics has been reduced to a level of near anarchy that from time to time in history has flowed up the Danube into Central Europe.

Nazism, for instance, can claim Balkan origins. among the flophouses of Vienna, a breeding ground of ethnic resentments close to the southern Slavic world, Hitler learned how to hate so infectiously. [xxiii]

²⁵ Ibid., p. xxiii.

The ridiculousness of the allegation aside, the important feature is the inference not only that Balkan 'anarchy' has troubled the West in the past, 'forming the radials of twentieth-century European and Middle Eastern conflict',²⁶ but that their immutability maintains the region as a danger in the future. Kaplan's basic thesis, which is really racist stereotyping under another name, is that the region is an historically determined 'time-capsule world'[xxi], governed by unruly 'passions'[59] and 'ethnic hatreds'[51] that tend to 'flow up the Danube' and upset Great Power relations, a point that would not have been lost on his contemporary readership, at that time aware of the escalating war in Bosnia. To develop the thesis, he even represents the peninsula as the geographical zone where '[t]he tectonic plates of Africa, Asia, and Europe collide and overlap', driving discord ever deeper into the landscape, and giving his argument a wholly spurious geological angle.²⁷ Kaplan has gained some notoriety in academic circles for his opinions²⁸ and, like West before him, could be considered the extreme that a paradigm can facilitate. Nevertheless, the text defines the conceptual framework that the vast majority of writers from the period used, with the whole of the Balkans being seen as succumbing, ominously, to 'the regional disease of ethnic patriotism.'²⁹

²⁶ Ibid., p. 51. It is significant, given Kaplan's stated respect for *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, that he locates the heart of Balkan evil in Macedonia, the very place in which West located the rejuvenating power of the peninsula, and *Balkan Ghosts* can be read as an inversion of West's text. Macedonia, he says, was 'the original seedground not only of modern warfare and political conflict, but of modern terrorism and clerical fanaticism as well'[56]. By some tortuous argument, he even sources the First World War in Macedonia (see pp. 54-64).

²⁷ Ibid., p. 51. As its title suggests, Winchester's *The Fracture Zone* also resorts to geological determinism. Millions of years ago, he elucidates, the collision between the two tectonic plates of what are now Africa and Europe set off a chain of crustal movements and pressures that in turn 'create[d] a geological fracture zone that became a template for the fractured behaviour of those who would later live upon it' (*Fracture Zone*, p. 60). He goes on to propound 'that geologically and tectonically stable [...] regions - like Holland, Kansas, north China, the Australian outback - tend to be inhabited by the less fractious of the world's people, peoples who depart from the norm in being perhaps less aggressive, less bellicose, perhaps less curious, less imaginative. Places that have a more crazed geology, on the other hand, quite possibly tend to attract, or maybe even to produce, peoples who are of a, let us say, more robust character'[62]. He returns to the argument at several points through the text: see pp. 72, 86-7, 89, 140, 215, 242.

²⁸ See, for example, Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 53, 119; Todorova, 'Balkans', p. 477; Bakić-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms', p. 919; and Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 7.

²⁹ Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 61. For other examples of imputed discord and chaos, see Ibid., pp. 38, 61, 115, 146-7, 178-87; Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, pp. 30, 61, 68-71, 75-78; MacLean, *Stalin's Nose*,

The last major trope of traditional balkanism, that of savagery, is an inevitable concomitant of dissension, and forms a constant in texts from the period.³⁰ Just as harmony, progress and clarity pass to their opposite, so the tropes of innate friendliness and civility (characteristics which, it is worth remembering, had demarcated the communist populations of the Balkans even when communist regimes were criticised) pass to a barbarism and violence unseen in British travelogues since Edwardian times. Robert Carver's *The Accursed Mountains* (1998), describing a three month stay in Albania, forms a typical example. Here, the favourable representations of the country, with their notion of 'Albanian honesty and trust,' were just 'fairy-stories', the real condition being one of theft, murder, hijacking, kidnapping, rape, incest, beatings and with such a resurgence of the traditional vendetta after the collapse of communism that, Carver recalls, 'there was an ever-increasing chance I was not going to get out alive.'³¹ In this strained atmosphere, charged with 'imminent violence and death'[249], Carver returns to the very Victorian image of the Balkans as a kind of eastern frontier, a dangerous peripheral zone away from the civilising influences of the centre. The town of Bajram Curri, for example, he calls 'the Dodge City of northern Albania', 'a bad-ass,

p. 186; Tony Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans at Tennis* (London: Ebury, 2000), pp. 92-3 (for Hawks, the Moldovans internalise the regional tendency towards chaos, demonstrating 'capricious and vacillating dispositions'[182], as well as 'confusion, disorientation and bewilderment [194]); Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, pp. 46, 60, 103; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 23-6, 56-7, 70, 95-6, 110, 220-1, 266; James, *Vagabond*, pp. 11, 47, 110; Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 36, 58-9, 101; Pride, *Bulgaria*, pp. 28, 45; Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 4, 48; Zoë Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, Lonely Planet Journeys (Melbourne: Lonely Planet, 2001), pp. 7, 140, 212; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, pp. 79-80, 107, 148, 162-3; Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, p. 271.

³⁰ For example, see Paul Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, pp. 263, 284-5; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, pp. 38-9, 186-7; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. xvii, 175; Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, pp. 67, 131, 272; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 183; John Simpson, 'Under Siege' in Simpson, *Strange Place, Questionable People*, new ed. (1998; London: Pan, 1999), p. 450; Joan Simkins, *Ceausescu's Children: The Amazing Story of One Woman's Mission to Romanian Orphans* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1998), pp. 19, 60-2, 178-80, 208-10; Bill Hamilton and Bhasker Solanki, *Albania: Who Cares?* (Grantham: Autumn House, 1992), pp. 104-5, 120-2, 128-9; Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 30-5; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. ii, 21, 37, 133-7, 161-2. Both Mueller and Hall question balkanist clichés, yet proceed to inscribe them: compare the awareness of discourse in Mueller, 'That'll Be the Dayton' in *Rock and Hard Places*, pp. 139-40, for example, or Hall, *Impossible Country*, pp. 73, 86-7, 214, 409, with the pattern of representation through their texts.

³¹ Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 52, 116. For references to theft, see pp. 45, 52, 186; to murder, see pp. 116, 186; to hijackings, see pp. 115-7; to kidnapping, see p. 256; to rape, see p. 192; to incest, see p. 257; to beatings, see pp. 210-11; to feuding, see pp. 145, 226, 252, 286, 334.

black-hat cowtown' wrecked by 'gunfights, dynamite and blood feuds' and menaced by 'frontier lawlessness and violence.'³² This depravity is not only manifest in common Albanians, but also lies deep within political life. From Carver's sketches of the past regimes of Ali Pasa, King Zog and Enver Hoxha, whose rule gains particular textual emphasis, there seems no moment in Albanian history free from official brutality, and today's political system is seen as heir to that history. For example, political rallies are 'drunk' and 'aggressive', politicians unruly, the ruling Democratic Party corrupt and manipulatory and their special forces intimidatory towards the opposition.³³ 'Like the Ottoman gendarmes from whom they had inherited their traditions,' Carver says, summing up this cycle of official violence, 'the Albanian police had a reputation for beating people first, and asking questions later'[161].

The trope of savagery also reiterates the notions of inborn evil and threat that lay behind Kaplan's racist portraiture of Yugoslavia. As Carver's historical sketches suggest, the 'lawlessness' that he finds is not the temporary outcome of the collapse of communism, but the product of 'long-established traditions and habits', the country - he claims - being 'heir to Levantine and Balkans ways'[31]. This rather vague phrase is used to evoke the primary motifs of traditional balkanism, as well as such biblical iniquities as 'ignorance, evil, corruption and sin', a remarkably old-fashioned mode of essentialisation that also drives the author's comparisons of Albania to such nineteenth-century imperial locations as 'Kafiristan [...] in the 1890s', or 'the north-west frontier of Hindustan in 1887.'³⁴ This congenital malfeasance was complemented by the second feature of the Victorian notion of Balkan savagery to re-emerge, that of threat. A straightforward example appears when Carver takes a bus journey through remote country in the north: before long, he senses 'a groundswell of hostility' around him, and with the other

³² Ibid., pp. 249, 249, 249, 262. For further frontier imagery, see pp. 176, 243, 250. All in all, Carver claims that 'Bajram Curri made Haiti and Liberia look like the Côte d'Azur'[254]. For references to the Wild West in other travel texts, see Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 173; Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 56, 191; Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, p. 358; O'Connor, *Walking Good*, pp. 32, 50; Loyd, *My War Gone By*, p. 313; Kindersley, *Mountains of Serbia*, p. 80; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 151; Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 103-4; Bell, *Harm's Way*, p. 130; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 116. Edwards actually reports discovering a mock 'Wild West City' in western Yugoslavia in 1974: Edwards, *Yugoslav Coast*, p. 235.

³³ For instances of unruliness, see Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 334; for manipulation, see, p. 159; and for intimidation, see pp. 134-5, 148.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 191, 257, 193. For evocations of an unchanging Albania, see also pp. 27, 43, 216, 232, 257.

passengers able to 'smell the dollars in my money belt', their only thought is '[h]ow to kill and rob me, and get away with it'[234]. Of course, this is simply a list of suppositions (not least the supposition that if robbery occurs, murder will naturally be involved), and Carver reaches his destination safely, yet nevertheless one's impression of his co-travellers becomes based on these suppositions - that they are all [potential] robbers and killers. A more interesting example, with a resonance that expands on Kaplan's work, comes in Bajram Curri, when Carver is astonished to find Wimbledon tennis appear on television. Amidst this 'ruined town [...] on the edge of the world', amidst 'the goats chewing rubbish, the police with machine guns, the ragamuffin children with snot dribbling down their noses', this vision of 'plump, prosperous crowds [...], the order and applause' strikes Carver as resonant 'of a world of order and civilisation' based upon 'trust, compromise, safety and peaceful co-existence'[258-9], and leads him to sudden revelation:

No wonder there was such a slow, vast march of desperate people from the Third World to Europe and North America! If you lived in Bajram Curri and could see this on TV every night, of course you would just get up and walk towards it, if you possibly could. How wise Enver Hoxha had been to keep foreign TV out of Albania!

As W.B. Yeats so clairvoyantly prophesied, the slow beast, whose time had come, was slouching towards Bethlehem to be born, this not Communism or Fascism or fundamentalism - but simply a mass of poor, desperate people from ruined countries; nightly we were watching the beast's universal dreams and hearing its anthems and siren songs on our TV sets, this beast which would in time overwhelm us and destroy us in its desire to become like us. [259]

This is, of course, the epitome of racist discourse - the terrible spectre of otherness 'bent on destroying our civilisation and way of life.'³⁵ In this, south-east Europe is simply the closest manifestation of what Carver refers to as 'the invisible barrier between the Third World and the First'[329], that monstrous periphery endangering the metropolitan centre, and what more typical response could one expect to what Fonseca terms 'the whole impoverished, noxious mess encroaching from the east'³⁶ then hatred, fear and

³⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 376.

³⁶ Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 205.

distrust. When Carver - in an extreme though not untypical conclusion to his text - calls the Albanians an 'anarchic mix of smiling murderers and honourable kidnappers, hospitable rapists and elegant torturers, welcoming robbers and wife-beating family men,' the message seems to be that 'fortress Europe' has to tighten its defences: we would not want these people over here.³⁷

It was this conjunction of savagery, backwardness, discord and obfuscation which has marked the British concept of the Balkans in the post-Cold War period, and which - with its admixture of evil and danger - returns the discourse to its racist, essentialist origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So it was that much of what we take for empirical knowledge on south-east Europe, in our television broadcasts and newspapers, would not have been out of place in the most spurious of Victorian travelogues. The constructions of iniquitous, immutable essence found in Carver, Kaplan and their contemporaries³⁸ had their roots in Victorian theories of race and morality. Similarly, the fears experienced in the region by the British traveller, the 'mild panic' instilled by this "'danger zone of Europe'"³⁹ returned the Balkan concept, after Cold War

³⁷ Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 337. Pursuing the theme elsewhere, Carver writes that 'the whole Third World was more or less like Albania, full of impoverished, desperate people in broken, bankrupt countries, whose only desire was to escape, to embrace the foreign thralldom that their grandparents had struggled to overthrow'[133], and also writes that he had 'a terrible vision of the future, of an exhausted, broken, overpopulated world crammed with hungry, hopeless people with the ruins of failed industrial culture all round them. And of this within four hours' sailing distance from the coast of Italy'[140]. See also the treatment of Balkan emigration in Hamilton and Solanki, *Albania*, p. 66; Rieff, *Slaughterhouse*, p. 32; and Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 92-3, 106. Other constructions of a Balkan hoard appear in *Ibid.*, p. 18; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, pp. 149-50; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 44; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 33; Harding, *Another Europe*, p. 87. For a response to being treated as part of a hoard, see Drakulić, *Café Europa*, pp. 17-21.

³⁸ Apart from the instances in the Carver and Kaplan discussions, the trope of innate evil is exemplified by Hall's claim that the crisis in Yugoslavia is caused by its 'tribal culture', giving entirely spurious scientific elaboration that 'peasant tribalisms [...] could be considered the genetic disposition to cancer, while religion was the insult to the cell that triggered the disease' (Hall, *Impossible Country*, pp. 229-30). Similarly, Scott-Stokes refers to 'ancient hatreds' in eastern Europe (Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 23), Brân claims that Yugoslav topography causes 'isolation and political xenophobia' (Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, p. 66), Kaplan says that Romania is beset by 'tragic flaws' (Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 87), and Russell suggests that 'the Balkan peninsula is doomed [...] to wallow in the mistakes of the past' (Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. xvii).

³⁹ Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, p. 212; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 37. See also, Hall, *Impossible Country*, pp. 192, 257-63, 300; Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans*, pp. 60, 95, 155; Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 150; Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, pp. 274, 282; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 215-8; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, pp. 114, 171-3; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. 6-7; Thurnham,

notions of sameness, to the discriminatory, hierarchical modes of continental geography rooted in the *philosophes*. As with nineteenth-century balkanism, crucially, the current concept of the region also works through metonym. The essentialisation is not nation-, or ethnicity-, specific but, via the deployment of the term 'Balkan', holds as its true object the whole peninsula, balkanism being that cross-cultural discourse which targets a collectivity of negatively-evaluated ethnic groups, whose properties may appear at any one point across the region but are always characteristic of the collectivity as a whole. The discourse, moreover, is an instance of what Bhabha terms 'fixity', that 'paradoxical' strategy of othering which in manufacturing 'cultural/historical/racial difference' both 'connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition.'⁴⁰ This is the West's construction of the 'eternal Balkans', always fixed, always immutable, yet at the same time always worsening, a persistently unprecedented barbarism evoked in travel writing via a register mingling amusement, absurdity, and absolute terror.

The post-Cold War travel writers have brought to this denigration all the determination that had marked previous stages of knowledge formation of the Balkans in both its denigratory and complementary modes. In order to confirm their particular slant on the region, for example, such writers deployed the usual process of quotation, synopsis and cross-reference, constructing a rich textual apparatus that would appear to the unsuspecting to provide indisputable historical lineage for a discourse profoundly rooted in the contemporary. And in this apparatus, there was little citation of travellers from the short twentieth century. In fact, the first step in the process was to preclude any representations from the inter-war and Cold War periods that might have been lingering in the minds of the readership, a manner of *writing against preconceptions* that inverted the practices of the First World War generation.⁴¹ In this way, Russell disputes

Sophie's Journey, pp. 178, 187, 215; Keeley, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 37, 84; Harding, *Another Europe*, pp. 87-8, 148. Others writers imply that the threat that many travellers felt in the Balkans could also apply to the whole of Europe: see Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 98; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. xxiii, 51, 54-64; Bell, *Harm's Way*, p. 274; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 26.

⁴⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 66. Slavoj Žižek, no doubt due to his background, is a rare instance of a cultural theorist recognising the West's discourse on eastern Europe in general as being racist (see Žižek, *Tarrying with the Negative. Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 226).

⁴¹ See my Chapter 3, pp. 150-3.

Forwood's description of Bucharest's main rail terminus (as "a bright spotless and capacious station whose flower beds and geranium pots seem to extend an unspoken welcome to the stranger"), Gioia and Thurlow subvert the kind of romanticism that found in Bulgaria 'pretty young women in elaborately embroidered peasant dresses,' and the authors of an evangelical pamphlet state - more bluntly - that 'Albania no longer exercises the charm of novelty among the British public.'⁴² Winchester even pours doubt on the arguments of those 'students of the Near East today' who, repeating the inter-war tendency to deny innate cause, claim the region's problems are the result of 'the cynical manipulations of contemporary politics and [...] the machiavellian involvement of outside powers.'⁴³ This announcement of the redundancy, or prevarication, of positive signification is deployed alongside the use of source material which vindicates the traveller's negative signification. For example, Scott-Stokes bolsters a portrait of Balkan obfuscation with Durham's comment (from 1904) that "either party seizes upon the stranger and tries to prevent his view being 'prejudiced' [...] with the result that 'he feels far less capable of forming an opinion on the Eastern Question than he did before.'"⁴⁴ Similarly, Bassett evokes Montenegrin savagery by citing Lt.-Col's Barry's *The Gates of the East* (1906), Winchester justifies his apprehension at entering Serbia by citing Kinglake's famous entry across the Sava and Edmund Keeley evokes Albanian backwardness by paraphrasing Lear's travels from the 1840s,⁴⁵ as though finding

⁴² Russell, *Prejudice*, p. 31 (referring to Forwood, *Romanian Invitation*, pp. 25-6); Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 148; Albanian Evangelical Mission, *Mission Albania: Ten Years of Vital Christian Work for the Albanian People* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 1996), p. 73.

⁴³ Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 130.

⁴⁵ Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 49; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 79-82; Keeley, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 10-11, 21, 25, 49, 57, 66, 70-1, 93. See also Jones, *Biografi*, pp. 22, 31, 56; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 185; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 109; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 158-9; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 37, 170; Harding, *Another Europe*, pp. 133-4; Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 207; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. xvi, 64, 72-3, 82, 209-10. Kaplan claims, purely for dramatic effect, that the obscurity of the Balkans is matched by the obscurity of regional source material: 'For months I ransacked rare-book shops and dealers. I knew that the books that best explained the violence of Romania's December 1989 revolution had been out of print for decades, in some cases for half a century or more' [xxi]. One discursive trick that Kaplan pulls is to cite from an ostensibly favourable travelogue a thoroughly denigratory passage, thus giving the impression that the text, as well as its period, are not favourable at all: see his usages of Sitwell and Hoppé on pp. 77, 104, 108. This bias towards quotation of solely denigratory passages or texts is repeated by travel anthologies: see, for example Jane Robinsen's collection of extracts from Balkans travellers in her *Unsuitable for Ladies* (1994).

commonality between the nineteenth and late twentieth centuries was entirely unproblematic. With synchronic cross-referencing complementing this diachronic mode, there would seem as little desire for originality amongst today's balkanists as amongst Victorians, unless such expression of ethnocentrism in a supposedly tolerant age is felt to be sufficiently original in itself.⁴⁶ Once this discourse had been established in the textual realm, it gained greater hold over expectation, perception and the perimeters of what supposedly autonomous individuals can and cannot say,⁴⁷ quickly becoming the standard interpretative framework for British commentators on the region.⁴⁸

If intertextuality inadvertently highlights the element of *choice* that lies behind contemporary signification, so too do the routes the travellers opt for and the locations that make up their idiosyncratic mapping of Balkan 'reality'. Often deciding their itineraries before the journey has begun, with the assistance of travelogues and guide books,⁴⁹ the imaginative geography of the late twentieth-century balkanist often rejects

⁴⁶ The often formulaic responses of travel writers is matched, von Martels argues, by the readers' desire for familiar patterns of knowledge: 'Human society possesses a strong inclination to preserve what has been built up over the centuries and to protect itself from new influences. For this reason, most readers in the first place seek confirmation of old values dressed up with a certain amount of novelty' (von Martels, 'Introduction', p. xvii). On the issue of our supposedly tolerant age, Kowalewski's idea that 'it [is] more difficult to indulge in the sort of breezy generalities (or even outright bigotry) that characterizes much nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century travel narratives' is certainly not supported by British writing on the Balkans (see Kowalewski, 'Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel', in Kowalewski, ed., *Temperamental Journeys*, pp. 9-10).

⁴⁷ As Youngs writes: 'Travellers do not simply record what they see [...]. They observe and write according to established models, having these in mind even when they wish to query or depart from them. No one who travels and writes of their experiences can be said to be writing purely as an individual' (Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 209). Barthes went so far as to believe travel writing to be - in Porter's words - 'more ideologically saturated than almost any other form of verbal representation outside propaganda proper' (Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, p. 288).

⁴⁸ The travel writers' images of the region before entry illustrate the strength of the discourse in circulation after 1989, and a sign of how quickly negative representation replaced positive. For example, Pride expects from Bulgaria a 'down-trodden, unfashionable country' (Pride, *Bulgaria*, p. 8), Hawks supposes Moldova will be 'unwelcoming and primitive' (Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans*, p. 20), Theroux hears Albania is 'one of the strangest countries in the world' (Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, p. 265), Simon claims that 'Romania sounded synonymous with hell on earth' (Simon, *Gypsy in Me*, p. 257), and Scott-Stokes and a co-traveller enter Serbia with 'media-filled imaginations to taunt our nerves' (Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 130). On the issue of preconceptions, see also Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, p. 170; Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans*, pp. 41-2, 112; James, *Vagabond*, p. 62; Whittell, *Lambda Country*, pp. 133-4, 137; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, pp. 112, 114; di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, p. 67.

⁴⁹ At times, one senses that a desired style of representation is being planned along with the route.

such frivolities as beaches and ski resorts, favouring instead the sites of pollution, failed industry and abominable housing projects, all the places where previous generations would not have lingered. In Romania, for example, the routes pursued by Harding, Hall, Malcomson and Selbourne are for the most part through industrial cities and the grimmest districts of the capital, with only the briefest evocation of the country between.⁵⁰ In ex-Yugoslavia, similarly, the numerous regions, communities and families which manifest inter-ethnic tolerance, and which refused to succumb to violence, are erased in favour of those that did. To show how extreme this new version of strategy of limited description could be, the only location mentioned in the Albanian section of Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts*, and thus the only image by which the reader can picture Albania, is the failing port of Durrës, depicted as full of 'garbage', 'primitive' shops, 'ramshackle building[s]' 'and other forms of desolation.'⁵¹ This was another map of the region, though one that was no more truthful. Nor is this the only additional choice to be made; travel writers have also been highly selective in their exposition of Balkan history, now choosing not the more colourful, heroic, co-operative events to accentuate, but the most savage and discordant: those moments from the past that most accord with their view of the present. Thurnham's sketch of Romanian history, for example, is based almost solely on biographies of Ceauşescu, Vlad the Impaler and Elizabeth the Blood Countess, Theroux's historical Albania is reduced to Hoxha and blood feuds, and all portraits of Yugoslavia eschew what Zdenko Lešić terms the "Yugo-nostalgia" found within the region itself.⁵² This usage of history was as much a method of writing the

⁵⁰ It is remarkable - to underline my point - how frequently travellers in Romania end up in Copsa Mica, a small, industrial town in central Transylvania that has the reputation for being the most polluted town in the northern hemisphere - far from putting travellers off, it seems to have attracted them. It is the only location Selbourne describes, for example, on a train journey he takes from Bucharest to Cluj, a journey of some two hundred and fifty miles (Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 54).

⁵¹ Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 45-6.

⁵² Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 30-5; Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, pp. 279-81, 283, 2901; Zdenko Lešić, 'Introduction' to Lešić, ed., *Children of Atlantis: Voices from the Former Yugoslavia*, trans. Christina Pribicevic-Zorić (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), p. 18. This very bleak writing of Balkan history is exemplified by the treatment of the communist era, which, in contrast to the British travelogues of the Cold War, is now solely negative: see, for example, Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, p. 11; Jones, *Biografi*, pp. 17, 23, 34, 57-61, 119, 127; Albanian Evangelical Mission, *Mission Albania*, pp. 24-6, 31, 43; James, *Vagabond*, pp. 28, 46, 85, 131; Stan Sherer and Marjorie Senechal, *Long Life to Your Children! A Portrait of High Albania* (Amhurst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), pp. 2, 50, 72, 104, 118; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 24, 71, 91, 111, 302-7; Whittell,

landscape as the more direct choice of route, as Carver's sketches of Albania reveal. At one point, he travels through a part of the mountainous north 'which was soaked in a history of human blood':

Here was where just last year a five-year-old boy had been playing with a Kalashnikov and had shot dead his father by accident; there was a carved wooden sign to this effect written in Albanian attached to a tree which marked the spot. Further on were the stones marking the graves of four celebrated brigands, all shot in Turkish times. There, by that rough bridge over the river, a shepherd had been held up by two men with knives three years ago [...]. Up in that cave high in the rock face was the secret hideout of Shah Achmet, a celebrated brigand leader who had put to flight a company of Austro-Hungarian cavalry which had come up here in search of him and his gang in 1916. At this point, just here, two robbers had [...] seized lambs and hurled them through a gap in the rocks to another partner hundreds of feet below, who had cut the lambs throats [...].⁵³

And so on and so forth. Like the dominant thrust of reportage, whose focus abroad is almost solely on tragedy, Carver's reading of the landscape elides any positive events that might have occurred, inscribing in his surroundings only the bloodiest doings of the distant and immediate past. The sources of Carver's information (here a local guide who once served in Hoxha's Special Forces, hardly the most trustworthy of organisations) also reminds us that when it comes to regions about which we know nothing, and have very little experience, we choose our source of information not according to its reliability but to its consonance with our interpretative frameworks, then go on to brand that information with truth and common sense.

For all the commonalities with Victorianism, there are two important respects in which the contemporary balkanism differs from its nineteenth-century derivation. Most importantly, the Manichean dichotomising of the Balkans and the West, which had

Lambada Country, pp. 137, 140, 163-5, 169-70, 196-7; Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, pp. vii, 37-62, 137-177, 238-264; Simkins, *Ceausescu's Children*, pp. 18-36. See also the more general history (a story entailing 'many monstrous people and their deeds': Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. xiii) detailed in Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, pp. 4-10, 13-30, 73-84, 102-3; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. xvi-xviii, 5, 41-2, 86-7, 107, 256-7; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 183.

⁵³ Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 295-6.

dominated in one form or other until 1939, and which had found new expression in Cold War propaganda, is at least superficially absent from the majority of post-Cold War texts, a phenomenon that also slightly problematises the interpretation of balkanism's latest flowering as a classic racism. Nowadays, the West is not only accorded little appreciation or loyalty, but also tarnished with the very same discord, brutality, violence and wilful abstruseness that commentators were projecting onto the Balkans. Carver's adherence throughout *The Accursed Mountains* to '[d]emocratic Western liberalism', and the very English virtues of 'hard work, independence, honesty and fair dealing',⁵⁴ are exceedingly rare during the period, and hardly ever deployed as a binaristic frame of interpretation. 'Humanity's facade of civilisation' may be 'more fragile in the Balkans than in Western Europe', as Russell writes,⁵⁵ but not much more. Indeed, the West is seen as a place where nations have had 'a far worse record of local feuding' and 'not above acts of barbarity when their interests are threatened,' where people are given to 'violent crime' and 'racially motivated attacks', and, being bred on pop culture, are both "crass and ignorant" and lacking any 'sense of value'.⁵⁶ For Ignatieff, the crises in south-east Europe stem not from 'some uniquely Balkan viciousness', but from their importation from western Europe of a romantic nationalism which, with its links to racialism and Nazism, forms one of 'the West's murderous ideological fashions', a point he underlines by asserting that 'there is more death by political violence in Great Britain

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 246, 171. In the scene when Carver watches Wimbledon, the West is seen, idealistically, as a place 'of rules voluntarily obeyed, reasonable laws formulated by intelligent, civilised people with the good of the community at heart, of trust, compromise, safety and peaceful co-existence'[259]. Another example of the binary method is when he claims that '[t]he insistence of 'truth', 'consistency' and 'honesty' among Westerners imbued with the Protestant-secular tradition posed immense problems for Albanians, since to admit to the 'truth', if it was shameful, dishonoured them and was thus always avoided'[208].

⁵⁵ Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 120.

⁵⁶ Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 102; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 165; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 24; Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, p. 121; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 53. Time and again, an attempt to reduce the patterns of representation to binarist practice is undermined by the writers' saddling the West with the same negative attributes as the Balkans: see, for example, Simon, *Gypsy in Me*, pp. 22, 59, 93, 124-5, 232; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. 37, 205; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, pp. 76, 195; Brân, *Yugoslavia*, pp. 158-9, 232-4, 239; MacLean, *Stalin's Nose*, pp. 207-9; Winniffrith, *Shattered Eagles*, pp. 15-9, 97; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. 160-1; Simkins, *Ceausescu's Children*, pp. 192, 211-2; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 197-8, 211; Rimmer, *Once Upon a Time*, pp. 19-21, 276. Even Carver takes the odd dig at the West: see Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 102, 181-2.

than in any other liberal democracy in the world.'⁵⁷ In this benighted landscape, the Enlightenment ideal is only present by its absence. If the ideal enlightened country, as Malcomson suggests, 'should be a rational country, orderly and punctual, with perfect circles, equilateral triangles, and straight lines',⁵⁸ which the First World War generation had begun to locate in both sections of the continent, then this harmonious vision was lost from Europe, with both sides now finding mutuality only in atavistic displays of chaos, ignorance and violence. As I shall discuss below, one could certainly say that an element of binarism remained between travelling selfhood and the travelled environment; but between the West and the South-east there was imputed to be confluence.

The disenchantment with western mores was, as I have argued, a particular flowering of that scepticism which pervaded late-twentieth-century life, politics and cultural production. It was a scepticism that had profound effects on cross-cultural representation, not least in the second feature that distinguished contemporary travel writing from that of the nineteenth-century - its inability to effectively endorse any autochthonous national discourse. The Victorian tendency to select, and sanction the aspirations of, a favoured Balkan state has certainly been present in the post-Cold War era, with the embattled population of central Bosnia receiving the most notable patronage from political commentators, but the cultural preferences, the belief systems, the human and social qualities, the very *language* through which Victorian travellers viewed and constructed their favoured peoples, and which continued into the Cold War period, were all unavailable to a post-romantic age; so much so, in fact, that there was little discursive material left with which to build a favourable mode of interpretation. Certainly, one could no longer use such motifs as nobility, honour, communality and primal innocence, with all their links to romanticism, unless one wished to risk the charge of considerable naiveté. As a consequence, apart from the appreciation of a few individuals, there has been little valorisation involved in the commentator's patronage of a particular ethnic or national group, and as a result patronage fails to challenge the dominate pattern of denigration.⁵⁹ Such failure is demonstrated by David Rieff's

⁵⁷ Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, pp. 15, 15, 165. He is referring here to the violence in Northern Ireland.

⁵⁸ Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, p. 116.

⁵⁹ For examples of the discovery of value, see the way that Becky Smith envies Bulgarians their sense of 'human community' and national 'pride' (Smith, *Bulgarian Diary*, pp. 16-17); that Gill finds something

Slaughterhouse (1995), surely one of the most passionate defences of the central Bosnian population in the contemporary period. Although in the abstract Rieff views the 'support of the Bosnian cause' as a just one, perceiving Bosnia to be 'a society committed to multiculturalism',⁶⁰ the viewpoint breaks down when he examines his own support for the victims of Serbian and Croatian aggression. 'This [support] has nothing to do with feeling comfortable there,' he is quick to point out, 'let alone

imagining, as people often do when they fall in love with countries or causes, that I somehow "belonged." In all the time I spent in Bosnia, I cannot remember a single moment when I was not at least a little frightened, and I remember many moments when I was terrified. I was then, and I remain, intensely critical of the Bosnian government, in both its policies and its naiveté, and often bored and exasperated by the way the Bosnians talked with such a combination of self-absorption and lack of realism about themselves and the rest of the world. [25-6]

The passage constitutes as much a distancing of the authorial self from the romantic travellers of the 1920s and 1930s as a distancing from contemporary 'Bosnians' (by which he means the primarily Muslim population loyal to the Sarajevo government). Certainly, Rieff is cynical about exactly the kind of cross-cultural affections (the 'fallings' in love) and desire for union with that other culture which had driven earlier travellers, not only clearing himself of any possible charge of overt identification with indigenes, but making sure that his disclaimer appears early in the text. Furthermore, the passage's criticism of government and people is combined elsewhere with an accent on what is deemed the corruption, military oppression and propaganda within Bosnia, censure

'good and gentle' in eastern Europe (Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, p.4); and that Roy Gutman finds in Sarajevo an ideal of multi-ethnicity (Gutman, 'Foreword' to Anna Cataldi, *Letters from Sarajevo: Voices of a Besieged City*, trans. Avril Bardoni (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element Books, 1994), pp. viii-ix. See also Simon, *Gypsy in Me*, p. 317; James, *Vagabond*, p. 208; Garton Ash, *We the People*, 154; and the very rare discovery of sameness between east and west in Simkins's *Ceausescu's Children*, pp. 162, 189-92. Interestingly, there was a host of texts coming out of Bosnia which attempted to intervene in the paradigm, and to set more favourable images in circulation in English: see Lešić, *Children of Atlantis* (1995), Zlata Filipović *Zlata's Diary* (1994), Rezak Hukanović, *The Tenth Circle of Hell* (1996), Zlatko Dizdarević, *Sarajevo* (1993), Elma Softić, *Sarajevo Nights, Sarajevo Days* (1995) and Cataldi's collection of letters by Bosnians in *Letters from Sarajevo* (1994).

⁶⁰ Rieff, *Slaughterhouse*, pp. 25, 10.

which is typified by the author's claim that even the military's defence of Sarajevo had a 'lawless and brutal character'[132]. Indeed, with such opprobrium in the text, I would argue that the only features that truly build up sympathy for the Bosnians (for sympathy is undoubtedly accrued) are either the denigrations of their enemy, representation of the Serb and Croat being so brutal that the Bosnian cannot help but appear tolerable in contrast, or the emotive emphases on the Bosnian dead and maimed.⁶¹ This was advocacy at degree zero, a resort to inferior practices that might well fail to inspire confidence amongst readers convinced of what the author himself sees as 'the errors and crimes of the Bosnians themselves'[216].

The scepticism that had crept into cultural and political discourse in the post-war era, commonly associated with the postmodern condition, evolved from issues at home: issues of corruption, dissensus, fragmentation, of hyperreality, of the instability of meaning and the consequent suspicion toward metanarrative. When transferred abroad through such genres as travel writing, this radical criticism becomes problematic, as the suspicion of metanarrative becomes the suspicion and opprobrium of other cultures. The deconstruction of national myths that this entails, and the refusal to credit histories that previous generations have seen as valuable, replicates traditional patterns of cross-cultural representation by refusing any worth to subaltern cultures, and therefore refusing to challenge western power over such cultures. The area I wish to look at now is the forms of power that postmodern scepticism have supported in the post-Cold War period.

A general statement of western political strategy in the Balkans is simply given. Into the vacuum caused by the end of communism, the West has accrued for itself a leverage within south-east Europe that has gradually reduced the region to subaltern status within a western sphere of influence. Harold Pinter's usage of the term 'imperialism' in reference to western action in the Balkans is not inappropriate.⁶² In a region historically

⁶¹ In terms of the latter, he writes that the plight of the Bosnian Muslims was one of 'being massacred, raped [and] forced from their homes', a plight 'that constitutes the third great genocide of a small European minority to take place in the twentieth century' (Rieff, *Slaughterhouse*, pp. 216, 20). For instances of the former, see *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9, 58-70, 76-88, 96-116, 187.

⁶² See Pinter, 'The NATO Action in Serbia' in *The Spokesman* 65, 1999, pp. 21-28.

situated between, and governed by, the competing empires of east and west, one concludes that it is the West's desire for mastery which has finally won out, successfully combining the neo-imperialist practices of economic hegemony with the traditionally colonialist strategies of military intervention, political interference and administrative supervision, which, though conducted through 'international' rather than national bodies, achieve many of the goals of Empire. Amongst the numerous, often ongoing, instances of direct domination one could cite the controlling and overseeing of the break-up of Yugoslavia, the legitimising of the Berisha and Iliescu regimes in Albania and Romania respectively, the attaining of direct rule across much of Kosova and post-Dayton Bosnia, the sizeable control of Balkan economies, and the pursuit of a wide-ranging cultural imperialism under the guise of humanitarian aid. Once again, I am not arguing that the region is without its own social and political problems, but simply that the West's pursuit of interests in the region has exacerbated, and even created, many of what are interpreted as purely Balkan issues.

This economic and political will-to-power on the part of the West has been assisted by cross-cultural discourse - those images, motifs, registers and evaluations through which our age constructs the foreign object and mistakes that construction for truth. As I detailed in Chapter 1, the balkanist motifs of chaos, savagery, backwardness and obfuscation are central components of a vindictory discourse that has been used to justify western control of territory within Europe as much as imperial appropriation of colonial territories without. Homi Bhabha has written that '[t]he objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction';⁶³ in other words, the colonial power 'mark[s] out a "subject" nation', and then 'appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity.'⁶⁴ It is exactly this objective that discourse has achieved for the West in the post-Cold War Balkans, a region one commentator terms 'the original Third World',⁶⁵ as it had previously achieved for western powers in Ottoman times. Behind every western investment, loan, military action, diplomatic agreement, judicial regulation and election supervision lies a representational practice which, whether in travel writing, fiction, film or political

⁶³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, p. 70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁵ Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. xxiii.

pronouncement, scripts the region as a locale of such unnatural depravity that no other recourse is possible than to foreign rule. And the postmodern scepticism held by many commentators does not exempt them from this kind of power relation. Indeed, the sceptical, supposedly oppositional approach unwittingly ends up very close to official discourse, for its methods for constructing the Balkan object are merely the methods of the traditional balkanist discourse which, disguised as newness, consequently reasserts dominance over the symbolic field.

One can see this working out in Carver's *The Accursed Mountains*, a text which, despite its biting cynicism, is saturated with colonial desire. The text's portrait of Albania is of a 'bankrupt, post-colonial' country, but one in which the neo-imperialist West forms 'the new occupiers', the territory having become swamped with 'American troops, and NATO divisions on exercises' and its 'borders [...] patrolled by the EU.'⁶⁶ Rather than being a cause for sympathy, such occupancy is seen as an essential response to a society utterly unable to function without colonial masters. Albania is dead both industrially and economically, a 'country where only foreigners had planned and built things,' and where instead of developing modes of self-rule, the people merely 'waited until others came - Italians, Russians, Chinese, now the West - and then sought to gain personal and clan advantage from them'[54]. Similarly, Albania is brutally inept at ruling itself, a classic motif within colonial discourse, with Carver maintaining that not only have the people suffered 'a ruinous oppression by their native tyrants'[133] in the past, but present-day governments 'continue[...] to starve and brutalise their own people without compunction'[169]. Paradoxically, Carver also argues that Albanians are 'very difficult to rule, perhaps incorrigible'[245] and as a consequence require 'strict discipline and terrible brutality'[246]. This is a people, remember, given over to every form of crime and depravity:

what could you say about a culture where [...] everyone stole and was proud of it; where girls were kidnapped at fifteen and sold into prostitution; where lying was normal and the government stole more than anyone else? Where people trafficked in guns, drugs and false identity papers, and went to richer countries deliberately to rob and pillage? Where wife-beating was normal, rape and buggery the fate meted out to anyone

⁶⁶ Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 41, 46.

not protected by either guns or their family? [...] Where the blood feud and revenge killings paralysed whole swathes of the land, drenching them in the gore even of innocent children of seven and eight? [191]

It is this kind of meditation that inspires in Carver a measure of respect for Enver Hoxha, who to the author's wonder had actually 'managed to master this unruly and anarchic people'[245]. There are moments, indeed, at which Carver believes that the answer to Albania's problems can only come from within: "Only the owner can pull his donkey from the mire"[337] is the local proverb with which he concludes the text. Yet the vision of a local solution is rare, and for the most part the answer is seen to lie, imperially, in a 'European-enforced order and industry'[133], with Carver (who grew up in British-held Cyprus, intriguingly⁶⁷) arguing that in 'the old colonial days there had at least been some recourse to the metropolis, the centres of ultimate power', which had been able to overcome 'the colossal theft, corruption and oppression'[169] of native elites. It is an argument, of course, that finally returns us to his image of Albania's 'new occupiers', and serves to support EU and NATO presence in the region. This residue of colonial desire has been repeated in other texts, forming something of a leitmotif during the period. Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts*, for example, the text which had so denigrated Yugoslavia, views Romania not dissimilarly as place of corruption, poverty and ethnic violence, and contends that 'German economic imperialism', by its replacement of Soviet influence in the region, 'offered the most practical and efficient means of bringing free enterprise, democracy, and the other enlightened traditions of the West'.⁶⁸ Similarly, Winchester rather admires the UN High Representative in Sarajevo, who 'ran all Bosnia as his personal fief', Ignatieff feels that the region needs 'an imperial arbiter to appeal to', and Hall puts into the words of a Yugoslav interviewee the hope "that America will come and occupy this country, and write a constitution for us as they did for Japan after World War II."⁶⁹ What I have called vestigial colonial desire is most evident in such

⁶⁷ At one point, Carver fondly recalls growing up in '1950s colonial Cyprus', where he 'had been fed and fussed over by Greek maids and nannies'(Ibid., p. 92).

⁶⁸ Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 180. 'Romanian political culture', he writes elsewhere, suffers from 'tragic flaws'[87]. For Kaplan's faith in Enlightenment qualities, a rare faith for the period that Kaplan shared with Carver, see p. 287.

⁶⁹ Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 94; Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, p. 8; Hall, *Impossible Country*, p. 402.

statements, although it was western control of the region that all denigratory representation worked to support, whether that control was mentioned explicitly or not.⁷⁰

The close links between denigratory representation and conquest within classic colonial discourse does not mean that the very same patterns of signification do not allow scope for the facilitation of alternative modes of power. The fascinating feature of the initial western response to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia during the early 1990s, for example, was not an eagerness to assume direct rule over the region, but an apparent determination to avoid any involvement whatsoever, an objective for which denigratory representation was amply suited. As Cushman and Meštrović contend, '[t]he central rationalization' of the official pronouncements by western governments, which underlined policy and informed mass publics, was: "We, as civilized Westerners, cannot do anything to stop the Balkan tribalists from slaughtering each other."⁷¹ The pronouncements can be broken down into three major obfuscatory themes: that all sides in the war were equally guilty, that the war was a civil war, and that fighting was a product of inherent savagery;⁷² the three working together to rescript an aggressive act of genocide as a kind of mutually-conceived, and wholly unstoppable, orgy of self-destruction. The horrifying results of the West's policy of non-intervention, and its illegal arms embargo on the whole territory, which disadvantaged a militarily underequipped Muslim population, could have been predicted: 250,000 dead, 2 million refugeeed and

⁷⁰ As Cheyfitz argues, 'the *mission civilatrice* [...] still rationalizes Western imperialism' (Cheyfitz, *Poetics of Imperialism*, p. 164). The phrase often used in official circles to describe the gradual assumption of authority by the West in Bosnia and elsewhere, 'mission creep', has remarkable similarities to the nineteenth-century idea that Britain had 'conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind' (Sir John Seeley, quoted in Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p. 7): one did not mean to do it, but was forced by events on the ground. As Brantlinger clarifies things: 'Nature apparently abhors weak societies as much as it abhors a vacuum, and strong societies cannot help rushing in to occupy the weak' (Ibid., p. 7).

⁷¹ Cushman and Meštrović, 'Introduction' to Cushman and Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew*, p. 21. See also Wheeler, 'Not Do Black as It's Painted', p. 3.

⁷² To mention a few examples of the first theme, Cushman and Meštrović cite the following instances of the construction of equal culpability: 'Margaret D. Tutwiler, former Department of State spokeswoman, pronounced that "No party is blameless for the current situation"; the European mediator Lord Carrington declared with regard to a broken cease-fire that "Muslim Slav fighters were at least as responsible as the Serbs and Croats for violations"; and '[w]hen the Serbs increased their shelling of Sarajevo in 1995, UN spokesperson Alexander Ivanka declared, "We're saying both sides were equally to blame for this fighting"' (Ibid., p. 21).

huge territorial gains for the Serbs.⁷³ And as Kaplan's work shows, the repetition in travel writing of the same denigratory themes as official pronouncement helped to effect the very same material outcome. Like so many contemporaries, Kaplan's constant construction of a congenital violence and savagery in Yugoslavia, all crystallised in the stated or implied concept of 'civil war', repeated official notions of the war as a 'Balkan quagmire' far too intractable and dangerous for western intervention. Indeed, with Kaplan the commonality between official and unofficial discourse could not be more clear: as Silber and Little record, it was reading *Balkan Ghosts* that encouraged Clinton to shift from desired policy of intervention to sustained non-involvement, 'convincing him that the inhabitants of the Balkans were doomed to violence.'⁷⁴ Crucially, for some western governments non-intervention was not an end in itself, nor an abnegation of potential power in the region, but a route to more sinister forms of involvement. Mark Almond is not alone in arguing that the Major administration revealed a clear bias in favour of supporting Serbian aspiration: 'What [the British political establishment] seemed to want', he writes, 'was for the Serbs to go in for a quick kill and get this embarrassing issue over and done with.'⁷⁵ Ed Vulliamy, similarly, views British inaction as part and parcel of a policy whereby 'the Serbs had to be dealt with, not defeated', and Daniele Conversi sees British attitudes to Yugoslavia as being conditioned by 'Serbophilia'.⁷⁶ It is certainly true that the West had to give up on its client state over

⁷³ After international recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, the conflict was technically not a civil war but an international war of territorial aggression across national boundaries waged from Belgrade and Zagreb. As a result, the arms embargo contravened Article 51 of the UN Charter, which states that an independent nation has the right to procure arms for its defence. The constant claim that Bosnia was a civil war not only heightened impression of mutual culpability, but obscured the legal right of the Bosnia muslims to defend themselves. As Mark Almond points out, Douglas Hurd's comment that supplying the muslims with arms would only produce a "level playing field" unwittingly reveals the awareness on the part of British politicians that the 'field' was currently 'uneven' (Almond, *Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans* (London: Heinemann, 1994), p. 321. On the contravention of the UN Charter, see James Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London: Hurst and Co., 1997), pp. 38, 89-91.

⁷⁴ Laura Silber and Alan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (1995; London: Penguin/BBC Books, 1996), p. 287.

⁷⁵ Almond, *Europe's Backyard War*, p. 321. He goes on: 'The 'Great and Good' in Britain were united on this approach. They would neither intervene nor lift the arms embargo on the weaker side.'

⁷⁶ Vulliamy, 'Tragic Cost of Allies' Hidden Hostility', *Guardian*, 21 May 1996, p. 12; Conversi, 'Moral Relativism and Equidistance in British Attitudes to the War in the Former Yugoslavia', in Cushman and Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew*, p. 245. Wheeler also writes that 'the Yugoslav wars have

Kosovo, unable to be seen to ignore Serbian atrocity any longer. But the Serbophilia that has been a feature of British discourse from the First World War onwards, and whose appearance in British travel writing has been a sub-theme of this dissertation, took a long time to die in official circles in the 1990s, producing a protection of Serb interests, and facilitating an administration and division of Bosnia that worked in Serbian favour.⁷⁷

The discursive involvement that travel writing (and other cultural production) has had with neo-imperialist activity in the Balkans does not only derive from the truth claims of the travel texts. Alongside the more overt assertions of a representational paradigm are a whole host of silences, elisions, adumbrations and oversights which conspire to keep modes of interpretation other than those foregrounded in the text off the agenda. Nowhere is this more evident than in the current refusal to offer textual space to national ideology. The outlook which suspects all political and cultural narratives, and which goes so far as to highlight the worst aspects of regional history, also eschews many of the staples of the inter-war travelogue: the peninsula's heroic past, its struggles for independence, its military glories, its literary, artistic, linguistic and architectural achievements - all those features which had previously been used to identify and valorise a national culture. At the same time, there is a lack of support for indigenous political systems, a support which from 1914 to 1945, even during the Cold War, had been used to defend the peninsula against imperialism. As a result, even though critiques of western involvement in the Balkans are apparent, the lack of any alternative solution for regions like Bosnia and Kosovo, one sourced within the region itself, means that the

intermittently produced constellations remarkably reminiscent of the alignments of the Great War: with the former Central Powers backing Croatia and the former Entente Powers indulging Serbia' (Wheeler, 'Not so Black as It's Painted', p. 3).

⁷⁷ It is interesting to note here that the discursive collaboration that had occurred between British and Serbian writers earlier in the twentieth century continued in the 1990s. Norman Cigar points out, for example, that the notion of equal culpability touted in official discourse was a Serbian one: 'a Serbian public relations campaign sought to promote the idea that what was happening was the unavoidable result of warfare or that all sides were equally guilty [...]. These actions were meant to confuse the issue, dilute international criticism, and reduce the potential for outside support for the Bosnian government on moral grounds' (Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"* (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), p. 93. Brad Blitz also details how Belgrade pressed for the arms embargo on Yugoslavia itself, and how its propaganda machine constructed the conflict as a 'civil war', arguments which Britain was happy to take up: see Blitz, 'Serbia's War Lobby: Diaspora Groups and Western Elites', in Cushman and Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew*, pp. 188-9. See also Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will*, p. 81.

idea of western rule goes effectively unchallenged. This scepticism is also evident in the way writers no longer advocate idealistic solutions for Balkan problems, an absence that has the same outcome. The inter-war encouragement of a Balkan Federation and construction of similitude between eastern and western Europe, which both aimed to strengthen the region politically and conceptually, have vanished from travel writing, to such an extent, indeed, that the latter's emphasis on the Balkans as Europe is now often elided. Despite critiques of the West, one senses a return to the nineteenth century notion that this was geographically European territory inhabited by something culturally other; if the Balkan peoples are indeed European, they are 'dud Europeans',⁷⁸ to borrow Fonseca's term for Albanians. Similarly, the tendency in Victorian imaginative geography to compare the region to non-European countries, with wholly denigratory intentions, has resurfaced: Whittell thinks '[t]he Balkans have a disarming whiff of Asia', Gill finds 'parallels' between Romania and Burma, Selbourne comparing Serbia to 'northern India' and Kaplan finds Albania worse than 'the poorest Third World countries'.⁷⁹ The elisions maintained the claims of the text: these were botched countries with bad histories, and all their national development only managed to take them back to where they started in the nineteenth century - inchoate nationhoods beset by disorder and bloodshed.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 28. Her phrase, 'the wrong side of Europe'[161], ostensibly describing Romania's geographical position, takes one back to Upward's 'east end of Europe' from 1908, and implies a return to the old continental imaginary that privileged the west and degrades the east. Carver repeats her construction of Albanians, and understanding of Europe, when he calls them 'imitation Western people, [...] in dark glasses, Italian clothes, driving stolen Mercedes' (Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 54). It is as a result of such practices that Iordanova talks about the region being conceived as 'a part of Europe, but [...] outside the European semantic space' (Iordanova, 'Media Coverage of Bulgaria', p. 233).

⁷⁹ Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 137; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, p. 177; Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 98; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 46. Carver labels Albania 'the timeless East, which was supposed to be a malevolent invention of Western orientalist, [but which] lay in the heart of continental Europe' (Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 232). Conflation of the Balkans with non-European postcolonial regions is a staple of the period: see Jones, *Biografi*, p. 26; Harding, *Another Europe*, p. 87; James, *Vagabond*, p. 66; Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, pp. 38, 54, 98, 111-2, 175; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 186; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 61; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 83, 108, 112, 113, 122, 175; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 191, 236; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 31. Such conflation is ubiquitous in Carver's *The Accursed Mountains*.

⁸⁰ In the shift of the Balkans out of Europe during both the contemporary and Victorian periods, I am reminded of Mary Douglas's notion of cultures being disturbed by the presence of what is out of place, or inappropriate. As Stuart Hall, after Douglas, writes: 'Dirt in the garden is fine, but dirt in one's bedroom is 'matter out of place' - a sign of pollution, of symbolic boundaries being transgressed, of

Alongside the vindication of western hegemony in the Balkans, such conceptualisation also has links to the structures of power apparent in the contemporary West. In a post-ideological, supposedly post-nationalist age, I would argue that balkanism has proved itself far more effective than any distant post-colonial alterity at maintaining in British television-viewers adherence to national culture. The nightly broadcasts of Balkan chaos and savagery, of homes destroyed, of householders displaced, of the civitas besieged, of shells landing in marketplaces, were not only a highly undesirable condition in itself, but more crucially a highly symbolic attack on the core values and practices of western society. The Yugoslav wars, in fact, were a particularly effective model of what could happen to consumer capitalism should the Enlightenment project collapse - epitomising the chaos, the impoverishment, the lack of consumer power, the physical harm, the sheer discomfort. The horrifying sight of such values breaking down, as well as justifying western power over south-east Europe, also surreptitiously divested western audiences of power, driving into them an unconscious loyalty both to all those civilisational qualities presented as the Balkan opposite and to the state system that preserved them from the spectacle they were witnessing. It was a process that combats, or neutralises postmodern scepticism, working on a more personal, deeper level where individuals, however sceptical they might continue to be on the surface, are taught to accept situatedness in modern society. In Foucauldian terms, the Balkans have been, like madness, criminality, disease, a spectacle from the social margins against which people at the centre gain definition and become individualised. This abstruse and subtle disciplinary mechanism, as Foucault would argue, which produces the obedient subject solely 'through the control of ideas', is 'much more effective than the ritual anatomy of torture and execution.'⁸¹ In *Discipline and Punish*, he cites J.M. Servan's insight that

A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; it is at the stable point of reason that he secures the end of the chain; this link is all the stronger in that we do not

taboos broken. What we do with 'matter out of place' is to sweep it up, throw it out, restore the place to order, bring back the normal state of affairs'(Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', in Hall, ed. *Representation*, p. 236. This seems to me to capture the western Europe attitude to certain regions of eastern Europe after the Cold War.

⁸¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 102.

know of what it is made and we believe it to be our own work; despair and time eat away the bonds of iron and steel, but they are powerless against the habitual union of ideas, they can only tighten it still more; and on the soft fibres of the brain is founded the unshakeable base of the soundest of Empires.⁸²

In the Balkans, this securing of loyalty to Empire (or its neo-imperialist successor) is derived from a style of representation which reformulates the old colonial dialectic: the Balkans are lack, the EU is plenitude, and the viewer is made to feel intense gratitude for being on the right side of the equation. To reengage with Baudrillard's notion of spectacle, the viewer/voyeur is not merely in the business of 'war-watching', which suggests detachment from the spectacle before one, but in a damaging, tyrannising relation with power in which attachment is the primary outcome. It may be that this usage of the Balkans is a temporary one, something that can fill the oppositional vacuum created by the end of the Cold War⁸³ until the next imperial Russia, the next Nazi Germany or Soviet Union rears its head. But until that time, this trundling out and dusting down of an old Victorian other has been proving efficacious.

Whilst it is true to say that western discourse does not create the problems of the Balkans, it certainly covers over those very real strategies that the West has been pursuing in the region, strategies which continue adversely to effect the region. At one and the same time, discourse produces the Balkans as a subaltern culture, available for intervention, and, through what I have termed a process of distancing, also creates the region as a civilisational other whose problems could not possibly have anything to do with us. Despite the occasional criticism on the part of commentators of western action in, even western representation of, the peninsula, particularly in the Bosnian context,⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid., pp. 102-3.

⁸³ As Mouffe writes on the loss of the communist other: 'the identity of democracy has now been destabilized by the loss of its erstwhile enemy; it has to be redefined by the creation of a new political frontier' (Mouffe, 'Politics of Nomadic Identity', p. 105).

⁸⁴ For criticism of western action in Bosnia, see Sally Becker, *The Angel of Mostar: One Woman's Flight to Rescue Children in Bosnia* (London: Hutchinson, 1994), pp. 51-2, 93-5, 121, 153, 156, 166-9, 184-5, 191; Sally Trench, *Fran's War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999), pp. 91-2; Harris, *Cry Bosnia*, pp. 9, 11-5, 20, 97, 122; Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 52, 63, 69, 81-2, 85-6, 100; di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, pp. 36, 139-42, 147, 174; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 74; Bell, *In Harm's Way*, pp. 35-8, 40, 133, 164, 187-90, 226, 230, 272-3. Paradoxically, writers that criticised denigratory representation often deployed that representation in the very same text: see Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. xvii, 265-6, 281-5; Hall, *Impossible Country*, pp. 73, 86-7, 214, 409; Mueller, 'That'll be the Dayton', *Rock*

that discourse was finally a success; western culpability is not widely recognised and - as Cushman and Meštrović point out - the television-viewing public has known all about the region's difficulties over the last ten years, yet still '*did nothing*.'⁸⁵

Just as representation moved on after the Cold War, so did subject-formation, the other theme of this dissertation. Reflecting the termination of the short twentieth century's complimentary engagements with the Balkans, self-writing drew away almost entirely from the romantic identifications that had dominated during the 1920s and 1930s and had lingered during the Cold War. The contemporary writer might still see him- or herself as a traveller rather than tourist,⁸⁶ but the inter-war exhibition of literariness, femininity, cross-cultural amours, gregariousness, cultural mergings and spiritual quests, even the exhibition of language skills, have more or less vanished from the Balkan travelogue.⁸⁷ In their place, fascinatingly, one often discovers a restoration of what one would have assumed to be the anachronistic Englishness of nineteenth century autobiography, with its arrogance, its supposed civility, its drive to mastery, its masculinist adventure and its objectivity, a restoration which reflects the wider return to Victorian representational

and Hard Places, pp. 139-40; Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, pp. 15-6; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. 54, 64. For other such criticisms, see di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, pp. 1, 7, 7; Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, pp. 4, 7; Softić, *Sarajevo Days*, pp. 3-4, 8, 8, 48, 114. Rieff's criticisms in *Slaughterhouse* of western representation and political incompetence over Bosnia is continual.

⁸⁵ Cushman and Meštrović, 'Introduction', p. 10.

⁸⁶ Many writers distinguish themselves from tourists: see Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, pp. 221, 223; Ward, *Bulgaria*, p. 188; Glazebrook, *Journey*, pp. 32, 58, 140, 185; Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, pp. 234, 295-7; Edwards, *Yugoslav Coast*, p. 193; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, p. 118; Hall, *Stealing*, pp. 16, 162-3, 170-2; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 102; Dawsons, *Albania*, p. 31; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 102; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 147, 162; Jones, *Biografi*, pp. 37-9, 46; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 230, 266.

⁸⁷ In representation, of course, there are exceptions to every rule. For exceptions to the dearth of amorous encounters in the post-1945 Balkan travelogue, for example, see O'Connor, *Walking Good*, pp. 48, 111-2; Fermor, *Between the Woods and the Water*, pp. 129-31; Hall, *Impossible Country*, p. 357; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 199. Exceptions to the scepticism about belonging or merging do exist (see Chamberlain, *Communist Mirror*, pp. 10, 18; di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, p. 142); but most would see the attempt at 'hybridised identity' as an absurdity. The point is crystallised in Jones's representation of an acquaintance who, fascinated with Albania during the Cold War, begins to assume 'the image of Balkan Man' (Jones, *Biografi*, p. 67).

patterns in British travel writing on the Balkans. Identity has not floated free of discursive conditioning, in other words, but remains firmly attached to subject positions of a particularly traditional kind.⁸⁸

With the joys of 1930s travel gone, it is from these old mores, these traditional identifications, that much of the remuneration for post-Cold War travellers has been derived. As I argued in earlier chapters, the representational modes through which writers abet the workings of power are not produced disinterestedly, but in exchange for a set of personal rewards and privileges, a process I have called the remunerative quality of power, and that Foucault would have considered a part of power's productivity. The support of national strategy, in other words, is never as much a concern for the traveller as the varied gains on offer for the selfhood, both during the journey and via that journey's scripting. Indeed, in the postmodern period, the period in which western travellers circulated the world as individuals, not national subjects, as products of their culture but lacking loyalty to that culture, it is in personal, individualist pursuits that remuneration is found more than ever. Whereas the inter-war 'moderns' found fulfilment in a sense of participation in foreign culture, producing a binarism between the homeland and the self/travelled environment, the 'postmoderns' rejected both homeland *and* travelled environment, pursuing in a binary practice in which only the self - and possibly a very restricted circle of immediate associates - lay at the positive pole. In this all-encompassing antipathy, the construction of the other, and the remuneration that resulted, were fundamentally split. On the one hand, there remained the Victorian identifications that I have mentioned, assisting the creation of that racial and cultural denigration in contemporary representation, and bringing the traveller similar rewards to those of the Victorian. On the other hand, the cynicism and individualism of postmoderns derived from new identifications and produced new forms of reward. It is the coexistence of these seemingly disparate clusters of attributes I will analyse in this section, before

⁸⁸ I am thinking here of Stuart Hall's useful definition: 'Identities are [...] points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us [...]. They are the result of a successful articulation or 'chaining' of the subject into the flow of the discourse' (Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in Hall and Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity*, p. 6). The following section also draws on Clark's insight that in attempting to understand 'post-imperial identity', 'travel writing serves as a kind of litmus test of national character' (Clark, 'Transatlantic Crossings: Recent British Travel Writing on the United States', in Clark, ed., *Travel Writing and Empire*, p. 212).

going on to analyse the way in which autobiographical construction reflects the forms and levels of power operating in the post-Cold War text.⁸⁹

Perhaps the first feature of contemporary self-fashioning worth noting, then, is its determined masculinism. However many transformations may have occurred to the roles and relations of the sexes in late-twentieth-century Britain, there seems many an unreconstructed male who, in Carver's words, deplures 'the gradual feminisation of society', the way 'the formerly macho northern European democracies [...] had blanded men down to an acceptably low-testosterone product,' and who finds in travel and travel writing, particularly to south-east Europe, a preserve for 'real, old-fashioned [...] pre-feminist models of British malehood.'⁹⁰ The writing that results, naturally, has many similarities to the Victorian adventure narrative, with its roots in classical Hero quests and medieval romances, in which the Briton conceived the Balkans as imaginative space in which to test his capacity for daring, endurance and camaraderie away from the confines and conventions of home.⁹¹ Just how close the contemporary could come to the Victorian is seen in Jeremy James's *Vagabond* (1991). Describing a horse trek the author takes from Sofia to Berlin in 1990, shortly after the revolutions, the tale is not too dissimilar to those of Andrew Crosse, E.F. Knight or H.A. Brown, littered as it is with gruelling rides, male camaraderie, fraternisings with Embassy staff, run ins with gypsies, scrapes in monasteries, bivouacings in the great outdoors, and a thorough lack of concern for danger and hardship.⁹² Indeed, one senses that the pursuit of hardship is not a by-product of his journey, but its very *raison d'être*. The point is exemplified by a

⁸⁹ With the tendency towards postmodern identification emerging before 1989, the section will occasionally use Cold War travel writers to exemplify points about contemporary autobiographical construction.

⁹⁰ Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 184. A more academic commentator like Jonathan Rutherford notes the same phenomenon: 'In the post-feminist era of the 1990s, there has been a growing disaffection amongst middle-class men with the ideal of sexual equality' and a concomitant desire to recover 'their own male potency' (Rutherford, *Forever England*, pp. 142, 144).

⁹¹ Dawson finds the same retention of 'Victorian imaginaries' of British masculinity in the contemporary period: 'public forms of adventure narrative [...] remain attractive for the solutions that they offer, as phantasies, to psychic conflicts. Those boys and men who wish and are able to identify with them may feel themselves to be in possession of the secrets of masculinity and freed from anxieties about being 'unmanly'. British national-popular mobilizations, from the Indian Rebellion to the Falklands-Malvinas War, have tapped these latent sources of triumphalist psychic energy' (Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 283).

⁹² For examples of the various pursuits, see James, *Vagabond*, pp. 59, 60, 52, 76-82, 28, 84, 71-3.

passage where James and his horse, Karo, cross the central Bulgarian mountains and, for the first time on the trip, enter solitary, rugged country:

It was just about midday then, and cloud was beginning to drift around. You could hear all this booming and thundering going on. Big mountains always seem to boom and thunder. I don't know what it is.

And Karo kept on looking down so you could see the whites of his eyes and he watched these little stones as they rolled and bounced away, so I tried to stop him looking down and up we went again. Then we had to go down into a gorge and that was pure hell. But there was a river in that gorge and it had worn the rocks away smooth as knucklebones. They were big though, and white, and the river raced through them, clear water, white water, and that water tasted good. Karo must have drunk half the river before we set off again [...]. [48]

The masculinism of such passages derives more from the scripting of the journey than from any action, real or imagined, that the scripting describes. Striking a rather Hemmingwayesque posture, James's sketch of man pitted against nature is evoked through a tough, spartan writing, which eschews complex or fanciful constructions for bare, often monosyllabic diction, simple connectors and elementary imagery. It is via such writing that James can feel himself the eponymous male 'vagabond', one so adept at the imperialist making and masking of identity that he even claims the indigenes mistook him for a vagrant, homeless and 'destitute'[119]. As such claims suggest, and exposing his upbringing in the colonial 'highlands of Kenya'[101], James's character reveals all the markers of traditional male Englishness: all in all, he is cheerful, resilient, affable, stridently unintellectual, self-deprecating, and his thoughts, like the most patriotic of colonists, always return to the homeland, to the quiet pleasures the village pub, where he can 'have Jeff Aldridge pull a pint and drink it with Jock Beesley and John Morris: watch old Keith playing dominoes and hear Stan Wheeler singing.'⁹³ The only unexpected

⁹³ Ibid., p. 122. For other examples of masculinist adventure in the Balkans, see Bell, *In Harm's Way*, pp. 135, 226, 275; Loyd, *My War Gone By*, pp. 4, 8, 207, 225, 305-8; Chamberlain, *Communist Mirror*, p. 123; Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 39, 74-5, 90; Gioia and Thurlow, p. 197; di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, pp. 65-6; Trench, *Fran's War*, p. 12; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 116, 153 (in the latter example, the author pictures himself as one of those old-style travel writers who 'drift into the capital from the Gobi Desert of the High Pamir, still suffering from beriberi, dressed in rags and reeking of

attribute of the text is that the author's strident maleness usually results not in the Victorian demonisation of the indigenes, but rather in appreciation, finding in them a masculine courage, diligence and vitality that reflect his own.

For other travel writers in the Balkans, however, it was a very short step from masculinism to what one could term imperial nostalgia, a sentimental mode of representation by which contemporaries attempt to recreate the styles, conditions, landscapes and, ultimately, the self-privileges of nineteenth-century imperial travel.⁹⁴ As an example in kind, Bassett's tour of Yugoslavia demonstrates a persistent yearning for 'nobler days', and for encounters with the 'human survivors of an earlier order', with their 'aristocratic *sprezzatura*', their 'lost chivalry' and 'old standards of courtesy'.⁹⁵ Similarly, Higgins enjoys stumbling across 'the vestiges of Empire' and 'the courtesy, good manners and excellent cooking that go along with them', Dilke fondly recalls the 'ease', civilisation' and 'wise administration' of French rule in Dalmatia, and Edwards shows a longing for days of English imperial adventure 'in the wild places of the world'.⁹⁶ Perhaps the most extraordinary instance of imperial nostalgia, however, comes in Philip Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars* (1984), which illustrates how deeply that nostalgia could effect the identifications of the writer. While ostensibly recounting a return journey from western Europe, through the Balkans to eastern Turkey, the text also investigates nineteenth-century eastern travel, the author quoting and analysing Victorian travel writers in an attempt 'to understand [...] something of what was in their

yak's pee, only to launch immediately and effortlessly into diplomatic high life with borrowed dinner jackets'). Such adventure included the love of getting to some remote spot first: see Jones, *Biografi*, p. 172; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 116; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 113; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 216, 219, 227, 290-1. Simpson was still claiming, in 1998, that there was 'a fiercer reality' to be found amongst the wider places of the world, although one which paradoxically reminds him of 'the literature of my boyhood' (Simpson, 'The Mountain of Light', in *Strange Places*, pp. 484, 489).

⁹⁴ This is akin to what Salman Rushdie calls 'Raj Revivalism', and what Baucom in turn sums up as 'the nostalgic celebration of the imperial past evident in the television and filmic productions of *The Far Pavilions*, *The Jewel in the Crown*, and *A Passage to India*' (Baucom, *Out of Place*, p. 21). My meaning is slightly different to Renato Rosaldo's 'imperialist nostalgia' in that it indicates a recreation of the imperial past in the present, rather than a mourning of the loss of that past (see Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, pp. 34, 70).

⁹⁵ Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, pp. 1, 136, 39. See also pp. 3-28, 39-42, 51-6.

⁹⁶ Higgins, *Travels*, p. 64-5; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, p. 159; Edwards, *Introducing Yugoslavia*, p. 72. See also Carver's nostalgic reconstruction of the old-fashioned world of embassy soirées in Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 104, 151-5.

minds; why they came, what they wanted of the East, who they thought in their hearts they really were'.⁹⁷ The motive here is to glean material for a novel he wishes to write, and with his textual discussions of prose composition, interspersed with the long citations and paraphrasings of Victorian writings, the text could be read as typically postmodernist, a combining of the self-reflexive and intertextual in highly self-conscious ways. Yet *Journey to Kars* is far more predictable than that. What Glazebrook's obsessive dwelling on his nineteenth-century forebears leads to is a kind of merger between past and present paradigms, both on the level of narrative, with the quotations of old travellers appropriating the excitement and suspense of their journeyings into his own, and on the level of autobiographical construction, with the author beginning to assume the character of the Victorian adventurers that he studies. An instance of the latter appears in a scene in which Glazebrook is taking a train through what was then southern Yugoslavia. The train decouples at a station and, upon suddenly fearing his luggage to be lost, his 'fright' is so great that it acts as a stimulus to self-analysis, leading him to believe that he has 'the wrong temperament for travel', and that he urgently needs to develop more 'self-reliance', 'assertion', 'dogged ingenuity' - some of the qualities, in short, of imperial Englishness. He goes on:

it is in the display of capabilities you weren't born with, but have admired sufficiently to imitate, that you take most satisfaction. You put yourself into situations which test the capabilities you most admire, not those you possess. The lion sets no store by courage. I thought maybe I had a clue here to the traveller's need to construct himself as he would most like to be - the hero of a book of adventurous travel - out of the incidents that befall him. The virtues which the Victorians professed to admire most [...] - resolution, independence, steadiness under stress, courage, endurance of hardship, scholarship - could all be displayed in a book of travels through classical lands inhabited by wild tribes. [20]

The points about the Victorian traveller here are well made, but what the passage stops short of acknowledging is Glazebrook's own constructions of himself as 'hero', and his

⁹⁷ Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars*, p. 8. He later phrases the question more bluntly: 'What was the impulse which drove middle-class Victorians to leave the country they loved chauvinistically, and the society of a race they regarded as God's last word in breeding, to travel in discomfort, danger, illness, filth and misery amongst Asiatics whose faith, morals and habits they despised' [237].

attempts to do so through imitation of travellers who - at least textually - display those 'capabilities' Glazebrook feels himself to lack. After the early revelation of his shortcomings over the luggage, he goes on to systematically develop such capabilities in his own journeying. One finds him, for example, begin to eschew luxurious accommodation, endure hardships and dirt, overcome fear, withstand illness, attempt adventurous modes of transport, achieve a self-sufficient solitude and independence, show calmness in the face of atrocity, and demonstrate plenty of denigration and aloofness towards local people and culture.⁹⁸ One even finds him stealing some marble from the archaeological site at Ephesus, about as blunt an expression of Englishness in this part of the 'East' as was possible to make.⁹⁹ In other words, Glazebrook becomes an imperial traveller, the thing he 'admires sufficiently to imitate', reflecting not only Kipnis's point that 'the colonial mind persists long after its political and economic structures have been dismantled',¹⁰⁰ but also that this mind exerts itself in regions not always associated with classic colonialism.

Just as it was a short step from masculinism to imperial nostalgia, it was only a short step further to a vestigial form of imagined colonialism. In 1958, John Kenneth Galbraith was still likening the Briton abroad to an 'imperial strategist whose views are derived in equal parts from Kipling, Kitchener, and Cecil Rhodes',¹⁰¹ and there are certainly facets to the autobiographical constructions of post-war travel writing that recall the Victorian's imperial desire for authority abroad. Creon, for example, who rather enjoys the attention she receives for being a lone woman motorist in Yugoslavia, finds herself 'bowing head to right and left feeling rather regal', Hall clearly relishes being accepted into a Bulgarian wedding 'like an important man', and upon finding himself in a Romanian restaurant apparently reserved for foreigners, Arnold claims to have 'felt like a nineteenth-century English lord touring the Continent and being kept safely away from the peasant riffraff.'¹⁰² Moreover, there were also occasions at which

⁹⁸ For respective examples, see *Ibid.*, pp. 13-4, 23-4, 234, 224, 53, 133-4/224, 199, 214-5.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

¹⁰⁰ Laura Kipnis, 'Feminism: The Political Conscience of Postmodernism?', in Brooker, ed., *Modernism/Postmodernism*, p. 209. For an excellent discussion of Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars*, see Heather Henderson, 'The Travel Writer and the Text: "My Giant Goes with Me Wherever I Go"', in Kowalewski, *Temperamental Journeys*, pp. 230-247.

¹⁰¹ Galbraith, *Journey*, p. 30.

¹⁰² Creon, *London Istanbul*, p. 24; Hall, *Stealing*, p. 42; Arnold, *Down the Danube*, p. 154.

the traveller pursued a very real assumption of power. Back in the 1970s, for example, what Gardiner called 'the patronising superiority of our fellow-countrymen when they get among the people of socialist lands' is also shown by the author himself, as he proceeds to entirely dominate his Bulgarian translator.¹⁰³ Similarly, Carver lords it over his hired guides, Cusack promotes herself as a glowing example to Albanian womanhood, and Fonseca, who sees herself as an adult amongst children in south-east Europe, feels no shame about working her translator as a slave.¹⁰⁴ At times, their nostalgia for imperial times would lead to nostalgia for old imperial rule in the region, as Portway regrets the passing of Ottoman Albania, or to an advocacy of imperial take-over, as Kaplan promotes 'economic imperialism' in the Balkans and Ignatieff desires 'an imperial arbiter'.¹⁰⁵ The focus of contemporary desire, however, is usually for personal power: there are few, like Dunkin raising the Union Jack in Dalmatia in the 1890s, who look beyond their individualism to advocacy of the nation.¹⁰⁶

The best example of imagined colonialism is found, paradoxically, in the humanitarian memoirs that emerged *en masse* from the turbulent years of the 1990s. Far from revealing a wealth of humanist sympathy, more often than not the British aid worker demonstrates the same will to power, the same colonial desire, as found in the most hard-hearted of Victorian travellers. An example of this 'good-will imperialism', as one writer calls it,¹⁰⁷ is Sophie Thurnham's account of voluntary work at a Romanian orphanage, which takes up much of her *Sophie's Journey* (1994). The primary stimulus

¹⁰³ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 162. For his mastery of his translator, see pp. 146-161, 181-200.

¹⁰⁴ For Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 101-3, 284 (when Carver calls Albania 'a nation of working-class irresponsibles'[58], one finds old class attitudes still informing representation); Cusack, *Illyria Reborn*, pp. 93-5; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, pp. 42, 79 (for the adult-child binary), p. 179 (for the enslavement). See also the attainments of authority in Theroux, *Pillars of Hercules*, pp. 284-5; Mackintosh, *Rumania*, p. 44; Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans*, p. 249; Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. 88-9; Dawsons, *Albania*, p. 154.

¹⁰⁵ See Portway, *Double Circuit*, p. 39. I have discussed Kaplan and Ignatieff above, my p. 305.

¹⁰⁶ I have discussed Dunkin in Chapter 1, pp. 100-1. Exceptions to my point would include Stowers Johnson, who travels round Bulgaria with a Union Jack flying from his van (see Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, p. 196), and Martin Bell, who circulated Sarajevo with the Union Jack similarly tied to his car, a flag he and his crew would lower each evening whilst listening to Elgar's *Pomp and Circumstance*: 'In the midst of the mayhem a show of Britishness seemed somehow reassuring' (Bell, *In Harm's Way*, p. 30).

¹⁰⁷ Archer, *Balkan Journal*, p. 9. Porter links humanitarianism and imperialism when he argues that in the post-colonial era, '[s]ome of the old idealism which had previously found its outlet in the empire was now diverted to other forms of overseas service, like 'V.S.O.', which sent young adventurous altruists abroad to help the less fortunate to help themselves' (Porter, *Short History*, p. 351).

for Thurnham's departure - originally intending a nine-month tour of the country - was seeing the newsreels of the Romanian revolution, 'a war worth fighting', as she views it, in which 'good was defeating evil' and '[b]rave men and women were shaping history according to the best principles of mankind, fighting tyranny and corruption with nothing but the sword of truth and justice.'¹⁰⁸ It does not take long before the traditional modes of balkanist perception offset her idealism. Upon arrival, she is soon shocked by Bucharest, a city that is 'pure George Orwell's *1984* - soldiers [...], dim lighting, grim grey apartment blocks'[8], with her short stay there supposedly uncovering rampant corruption, and a people sunk in such prejudice, superstition and greed that she considers leaving again to 'find a more sympathetic people to write about'[19]. Her denigration becomes more pointed in the chapters detailing her work in institutions in north-east Romania, which eventually kept her in the country for one and a half years. Here, Thurnham discovers children living amid 'unbelievable chaos,' not only enduring appalling conditions ('filth,' 'neglect' and '[t]he stench of human excrement') but also the constant fear of 'violence' and 'beatings', a situation made worse by the uncaring, corrupt and 'immoral bureaucracy' of the local social services.¹⁰⁹ As the following passage shows, it does not take long before Thurnham's representation slips into a binarist opposition between the barbaric practices of the indigenes and righteous western codes of herself and the charity team she is with. She comments on the general input of the British volunteers, and goes on:

In reality this usually meant that the local peasant women on the payroll sat back and watched while the volunteers did most of the work. There were some notable exceptions, of course, especially the younger ones employed since foreigners had arrived; but on the whole it was extremely difficult to influence the older women, who for years had controlled the children with canes and whose Victorian attitudes meant that they regarded a handicapped child as little more than an animal. Corporal punishment was the norm, even for a very young child who could hardly walk, and since we had no authority over the Romanian staff we were relatively powerless to stop it. [104]

¹⁰⁸ Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 86, 86, 87, 104, 107, 154.

It is against this balkanist discovery of backwardness and savagery that the British team ('well-organised'[92], 'friendly'[82], with 'Western methods of hygiene'[141]) set to work. Thurnham's claim that they had 'no authority' is somewhat disingenuous, for the charity seems to illustrate the extraordinary power that westerners abroad can still achieve in the post-colonial period, taking charge of much of the childcare, overseeing the orphanage finances, reorganising diet, getting people sacked, and in general resembling some colonialist administration dislodging a corrupt indigenous regime. Indeed, just as Thurnham's sojourn has an emphasis on authority, so the language she uses to describe it emphasises strategy, power and struggle. Thurnham's world is divided up into 'baddies and [...] heroes'[10], her Romania composed of 'very real enemies' which she would 'hate [...] in a way I never knew I was capable of'[10], and her work defined as a 'battle' in which she 'loved kicking at [the] system'[117]. Returning to her initial disappointment with the 'revolutionaries', her most telling metaphor for the volunteer presence is of 'a second revolutionary coup', a noble attempt by the Britons to install '[d]emocracy and freedom' in the orphanage, to fight 'for the right of a small group of people to live as human beings.'¹¹⁰ In other words, the British relief team attain all the heroism and uprightness that the Romanians failed to achieve in 1989, a fairly common portrayal of self in charity texts.¹¹¹ It is from such imagined colonialism that one gets a clear sense of the remuneration - authority, esteem, reputation, moral self-righteousness - that the contemporary Briton could gain from the re-enactment of Victorian mores.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 147, 4, 4. The self-other binarism between Thurnham and the institute authorities is reinforced by an ideological dichotomy between the former's entrenched right-wingism (pp. 10, 17, 161-2, 232) and the latter's imputed communism (pp. 10, 111, 211).

¹¹¹ For further instances of the power that charity workers have gained in the Balkans, see Hamilton and Solanki, *Albania*, pp. 120-1; Peberdy, *Do Robins Cough*, pp. 52, 62, 69, 73; Archer, *Balkan Journal*, pp. 8-9, 15, 29, 39, 43, 62, 67, 82-3, 91, 102, 128, 145; Simpkins, *Ceausescu's Children*, pp. 2-3, 46, 51, 57-63, 160, 189, 193; Pride, *What Do I Know*, pp. 33-35, 38-40; Rieff, *Slaughterhouse*, pp. 134-5; Becker, *Angel of Mostar*, p. 192; Price, *Iron-Laced Curtain*, p. 93; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 94-100. For the most part, charity texts offer 'a naive, triumphalist narrative', as the authors of *Mission Albania* admit (see Albanian Evangelical Mission, *Mission Albania*, p. 6). For Sherer and Senechal, 'aid workers' are as instrumental as commercial enterprises in the inauspicious introduction and promotion of western cultural norms in Albania (see Sherer and Senechal, *Long Life*, p. 181). Other travel writers also express criticisms of charities: see Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 51, 80; James, *Vagabond*, pp. 111-2; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 150-1, 170-1.

The embodiment of nineteenth-century codes of conduct, as I have mentioned, were inlaid with a number of more postmodern characteristics, the most central being what I wish to term the *consumer gaze*, a feature already met with in Bryson's depictions of Sofia. Although related to the imperial Gaze, that mode of 'proprietary vision'¹¹² through which the perceiving subject calculates a region's suitability for conquest and appropriation for the nation, the consumer gaze is a product of a late capitalist subjectivity, and based less on participation in national enterprises than on the individualism of purchase and material accumulation. While similarly assessing the foreign for what it can offer the subject, the locale for the consumer Gaze is urban, not rural, and its outcome in the non-western locale is not the sighting of bounty and potential wealth, but dearth and deficiency, a reaction against the foreign cityscape rather than the old seizures of landscape, but one which is still entrenched in home values. So it is, for example that Kimbrough openly judges a place by its 'merchandise', saying that 'the quality of it is one of the ways by which I measure the living standard in any town I visit',¹¹³ the lower the quality, naturally, the lower the quality of life. Not many travellers so openly acknowledged the scale of values they were bringing into operation in their perception and assessments, but just about all deployed them. It was the consumer gaze, for example, that brought forth those ubiquitous moments in the Balkan travelogue, usually occurring soon after arrival, when the travel writer evokes emptiness, lack and melancholy, a point particularly true of the late Cold War and early post-Cold War years, when consumerism had barely penetrated south-eastern Europe. Gardiner, for instance, feels that the western Romanian town of Tîrgu Jiu is 'lacking something': 'We are

¹¹² Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 28. Pratt's synonymous term is 'imperial eyes', a subjectivity that perceives and classifies foreign territory for the purpose of 'territorial surveillance, appropriation of resources, and administrative control' (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 7, 39). Duncan calls it 'this haughty gaze that has surveyed and appropriated the world since before the age of exploration' (Duncan, 'Sites of Representation', p. 40). Sadik Rddad also talks about 'the dictatorial authorial eye/I' of travel writing, a phrase that is pertinent to the western gaze in both its imperial and consumerist modes (see Rddad, 'Agency Relocated: Hybridity and Resistance in some British Travel Accounts on Morocco', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999), p. 114).

¹¹³ Kimbrough, *Water, Water Everywhere*, p. 246. By this gauge, the living standards in the town she is visiting are 'low': 'The figures on price tags [are] appalling, the quality of the merchandise poor [...]. Dresses, coats and hats, out of fashion by our counting, were of poor material, but cost as much as I pay at home for far better' [246-7]. Unsurprisingly, the writer mentions that she once worked in retail advertising [246]. Galbraith discounts such a basis for economic assessment: see Galbraith, *Journey*, pp. 76-7.

conditioned', he writes, 'to associate life with litter, advertisement hoardings, noisy children and traffic and without them we feel we have not yet reached civilisation'; similarly, James comments that the lack of such things means 'a communist city is [...] is sort of bald looking because it doesn't have any pizazz', Haggerty points out that 'shopaholics would have serious problems' in war-torn central Bosnia, and Hoffman is shocked by 'the great Eastern European *nada*' of downtown Bucharest.¹¹⁴ This lack can even instil fear in the consumer. Ward's discovery of 'shortage' in Albanian towns, compounded by 'the absence of names on shop-fronts,' the 'dull colours, unsmiling shop assistants in drab smocks [...] and a depressing uniformity of goods' all require a 'mental adjustment' that he himself is not always able to make: in Vlorë, the lack of cars, the ultimate consumer commodity, tips him over the edge:

The total absence of traffic in the main street sent a shiver down my back, as though I were the sole survivor of a holocaust which had by some quirk of permutation atomized all internal combustion engines and humans of Albanian origin. I patted a locked bicycle fraternally as it stood lonely in a rack, and then, crazy for traffic, ran up and down the road to enliven the melancholy dust. At a street-corner, a traffic policeman in blue whistled furiously at me: I must have been running on the wrong side of the road.¹¹⁵

Like Bryson's understanding of consumer shortage as 'near-death experience', the 'eerie silence'¹¹⁶ Ward finds in Albanian towns is indicative of both paranoia (personal threat) and apocalypse (social threat), where the only comfort to be had is from a sighting of well-guarded property ('I patted a locked bicycle fraternally') or from the desperate production of noise and movement - a recreation in miniature of the western metropolis. Not only is this critique of commercial backwardness akin, as I have said, to the Victorian's critique of primitive agriculture and industry, but it frequently feeds into the travellers' attainment of personal power. Fonseca, for example, establishes her superiority over a Bulgarian gypsy she evidently dislikes by withering references to the

¹¹⁴ Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 76; James, *Vagabond*, p. 5; Haggerty, *Letters*, p. 14; Eva Hoffman, *Exit into History: A Journey though the New Eastern Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1993), p. 252.

¹¹⁵ Ward, *Albania*, pp. 63, 10, 156, 1, 63.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

latter's fake Parisian handbag, outmoded clothes, and coiffure straight 'from the pages of a 1950s issue of *Good Housekeeping*.'¹¹⁷ Similarly, Hall tries to impress Romanian villagers with his 'Destro-Energen [...] quick-energy sugar pills', Gunther's wife attracts crowds of post-war Yugoslav peasants with her 'open-toed sandals' and 'bright red toenails' (part of the post-war American 'New Look'), and Thurlow, in Bulgaria, finds his 'electronic translator' invokes 'all the wonder the Red Indians must have shown the white man with his Winchester rifles.'¹¹⁸ Economics might have changed enormously from the periods of industrial to consumer capitalism, but in the sense of superiority that the West's relative advancement in such periods gave the Victorians and postmoderns, nothing has changed at all: the postmoderns have been a group, in short, 'sure [...] of the power of [their] travellers' cheques'.¹¹⁹

Naturally, this notion of the postmodern autobiographical persona is not predicated solely on deployment of the consumer gaze, but on a manifestation of a broad range of behavioural traits and beliefs. Most obviously, in a number of post-1989 British travelogues there has emerged a distinct attraction to the superficial, what Gemunden calls in the touristic context 'the postmodern [...] resistance or failure to acknowledge deep structures',¹²⁰ with the amateur ethnology of the 'moderns' rejected in favour of a very postmodern pursuit of drink, drugs and trinkets, of a consumption of pop culture, and of an indifference to the historical and cultural resonances of the travelled environment.¹²¹ In the latter vein, Harding is happy to admit she 'skimmed the

¹¹⁷ Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, p. 118. For the references to handbag and clothes see *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 118. For Carver, also, the fact that 'imitation products' are bought and sold in the Balkans is a cause for opprobrium and scorn (see Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 54).

¹¹⁸ Hall, *Stealing*, p. 31; Gunther, *Behind Europe's Curtain*, p. 44; Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 151. See also Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. 92; Emerson, *Albania*, p. 59; Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 147; Hall, *Impossible Country*, p. 365; Gunther, *Behind Europe's Curtain*, p. 64; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 46; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 46, 165-6; Rimmer, *Once Upon a Time*, pp. 260-1. For further instances of the consumer gaze, see Newby, *Shores of the Mediterranean*, pp. 124-5; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, pp. 19, 39, 71; Gill, *Berlin to Bucharest*, pp. 181, 223, 299; Aldiss, *Cities and Stones*, p. 266; Chamberlain, *Communist Mirror*, p. 85; Emerson, *Albania*, pp. 7, 19; Harding, *Another Europe*, pp. 154-5; Drysdale, *Looking for George*, pp. 50, 83, 192; Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 31, 102, 104; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, p. 110; Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 98.

¹¹⁹ Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 185.

¹²⁰ Gerd Gemunden, 'Introduction', p. 115.

¹²¹ Although especially true of the 1990s, this was also evident before 1989 - see my Chapter 5, p. 261. For the attitude to drugs, see Loyd, *My War Gone By*, pp. 183-5, 265-77; to alcohol, see Russell,

landscape', Whittell admits he departs for eastern Europe because he 'had nothing better to be doing' and Mueller, 'exhausted, bored and annoyed' travels through post-Dayton Bosnia playing Monopoly in the back of a van.¹²² This lack of depth to the Balkan journey, which often occurs in the absence of adventure, exists alongside both a tendency to forego relationships with local people, again contrary to inter-war modes of travel, and a tendency towards incivility, disrespectfulness, even naughtiness when local company is unavoidable, behaviour usually played for humour in the text.¹²³ At the same time, texts are suffused with scepticism, the travellers revealing no patriotism, and none of the collective loyalties of Berger and Luckmann's 'societal being', but rather what Anthony Loyd terms 'the natural cynicism' of westerners 'corrupted by meaningless choice, material wealth and spiritual emptiness.'¹²⁴ The contemporary British travel writers might feel the occasional twinge of guilt about this wealth and freedom,¹²⁵ but never for long.

Prejudice and Plum Brandy, p. 172; to trinkets, see Dawsons, *Albania*, p. 88; to pop culture, see Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, pp. 112-121.

¹²² Harding, *Another Europe*, p. 154; Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. xiv; Mueller, 'No Sleep Till Travnik', *Rock and Hard Places*, p. 163. At times, a scepticism at the idealisation of peasant life was expressed: Morgan, for example, mocks '[t]he idea that Balkan lives were more vivid, more soulful than West European ones' (Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 48); Russell undermines the '[i]dolisation of the peasant life' (Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 70); and Whittell not only claims that Romanian peasant life 'was the very definition of normality', but considers 'sleep and food' far more important than finding 'inner peace or knowledge' (Whittell, *Lambada Country*, pp. 162, 204). Concerning the loss of revelation, Loyd writes '[w]ar and smack: I always hope for some kind of epiphany in each [...] but it never happens' (Loyd, *My War Gone By*, p. 58; italicised in original).

¹²³ Keeley's sketch of an evening meal in an Albanian home, very much seen as an honour by inter-war travellers, gives a flavour of the mocking, dismissive manner of the postmoderns: 'Our manners - my manners and Christopher's in particular - leave something to be desired. We come bearing gifts of whiskey, chocolate, and books, as we were instructed to do by our advisors, and we engage in as much warm small talk as is possible through translation with a family we've never seen before and have some difficulty approaching on a first-name basis given the exotic sound of the names involved [...]. We agree that there is no way we can get cleanly through [the] main course without resorting to the ancient Roman mode of relief, so we pick at it like spoiled children, hide things under whatever is leafy, and we take a pass on the dessert cake fully aware that this is a serious diplomatic blunder [...]' (Keeley, *Albanian Journey*, pp. 28-9).

¹²⁴ See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, new ed. (1966; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971); Loyd, *My War Gone By*, pp. 126, 261.

¹²⁵ Apart from Gunther's and Gardiner's shame at the disparity of wealth between the West and the Balkans (see Gunther, *Behind Europe's Curtain*, pp. 26-7; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, p. 13), the expression of guilt by British travellers at witnessing the poverty and distress of the Balkans was

An example of postmodern scepticism is Dave Rimmer's representations of both eastern and western Europe during the final months of the Cold War in his *Once Upon a Time in the East* (1992). Rimmer is a struggling London journalist who grew up in the 1960s, a time of espionage, spy films, Soviet plots and other Cold War thrills, and who, when the excesses of Thatcher's Britain, with its 'privatisation, deregulation' and crushing 'property boom', starts him on a spiral of poverty and depression, decides to move to west Berlin, close to the other of his childhood. Yet apart from a certain frisson he gets from outfoxing east German officialdom, Rimmer finds nothing revelatory or thrilling in his numerous trips through the wall. This is epitomised by a trip around eastern Europe that he takes with a group of friends just as the Berlin Wall collapses, a trip that he expects will make a 'crap holiday,' and indeed turns out to be 'boring',¹²⁶ with the group descending into a mundane round of discos, alcohol, hashish and existential rides through grey, polluted industrial landscapes. The only real excitement on the outward journey is the thought of having Romania, that 'worst kind of hellhole', still ahead of them.¹²⁷ In eastern Hungary, when its border finally arrives, Rimmer's party eat the last of the hash and, feeling as though they 'had just passed from the known universe into some semi-mythical badlands'[243], find themselves amid broken roads, dilapidated buildings, ragged queues of people, and an ugly, polluted countryside which, with its mixture of shoddy industry and 'brutish-looking peasants'[245], looks 'like medieval serfdom married to everything terrible about the twentieth century'[244]. After the initial thrill this gives them ("it's what we came for"[247], says one, eager for spectacle), the boredom sets in, with the group resorting again to beer and discos, and almost the only thing Rimmer finds interesting enough to record is the group's naughtiness in the face of

unheard of before 1989, yet common afterwards. See, for example, Gioia and Thurlow, *Brief Spring*, p. 186; Bell, *In Harm's Way*, pp. 22, 82, 127-8, 255; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, p. 97; Keeley, *Albanian Journal*, p. 29; Simon, *Gypsy in Me*, p. 111; Pride, *What Do I Know*, p. 66; Brân, *After Yugoslavia*, pp. 228, 272; Harding, *Another Europe*, p. 87; Bryson, *Neither Here Nor There*, p. 226; MacLean, *Stalin's Nose*, pp. 207-9; Harris, *Cry Bosnia*, p. 11; Simpson, 'Under Siege', in *Strange Places*, pp. 434, 458; di Giovanni, *Quick and the Dead*, pp. 45, 79-80, 172.

¹²⁶ Rimmer, *Once Upon a Time*, pp. 224, 240.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 224. Rimmer writes: 'Romania. The word rang like an ominous chord [...]. Every time our spirits rose too high, it seemed that some small thing would remind us of where we were heading and - Romania! - like a nasty little arpeggio on a movie soundtrack, warning that the killer is at the door. The closer we got to it, the worse our apprehension'[241].

local authority.¹²⁸ Crucially, the denigration of the landscape and people is compounded by a cynicism about Romanian national discourse. The text not only deplores Ceausescu's 'brutal regime', its 'disastrous Stalinist policies' and 'stupid industrial projects', a system that even proved 'incapable of providing a regular supply of toilet paper'[224], but also fails to find any other era or feature of Romanian history and culture that seems preferable, as if communist wretchedness were less a temporary phenomenon than an innate trait. The important point, however, is that for Rimmer the East is not necessarily worse than the West, a point he makes via reference to the divided Germany:

Certainly, the more one explored the situation, the more it became clear that in divided Berlin, as in divided Europe, the two sides were very far from being the implacable foes of populist rhetoric. Rather, East and West were distorting mirror images of each other, the worst of each reflected in its opposite, the Wall not so much a boundary as a looking-glass which could be passed through into a wonderland where one would encounter the most familiar things, utterly transformed by context. In this sense, Berlin offered a city-sized version of one of the oldest symbols of all, that of the paradoxical unity in opposites. [17]

The truth or falsity of the argument aside, the passage accentuates how Rimmer's scepticism is not pursued through a narrowly balkanist framework, but through the much wider framework of the suspicion of metanarrative in whatever form it might take, the deficiencies of British ideology and society, it should be remembered, being also deemed so bad that the author emigrated to Berlin. In this way, contemporary balkanist practice can collaborate with the discourse of postmodernism as readily as previous paradigms had collaborated with communism, romanticism, nationalism and imperialism. And the remuneration for doing so is no less generous. Reflecting the rampant individualism of the post-war West, what one receives for one's scepticism is a delicious sense of personal superiority to community and nation, both of the region through which one travels and particularly of the society to which one returns, the latter being so widespread that it seems as though our presumed aloofness to home culture has become a fundamental gauge of self-worth.

¹²⁸ See, for example, *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 256, 249, 254, 258.

Of course, there are as many problems with postmodern self-fashioning as there are with the more traditionalist modes of identification. For one thing, the simple fact that in a British travel text on the Balkans the primary focus of criticism is always on the latter region (as well as the fact that, however critical travellers are of the West, they invariably return to it) means that traditional binarism is often maintained.¹²⁹ At the same time, the kind of negative equivalence that postmodern travel writers attempt to create between the Balkans and the West is bound to effect the two regions unequally. For the latter, their critiques may feed into the scepticism of their readership, but hardly challenge this gargantuan military-economic complex which has always shunned even the most oppositional, intellectually rigorous forms of cultural production. For a subaltern culture, the opposite is the case. Dominated by tremendous economic and political forces, such a region does not advance by the sheer weight of its own momentum, as does the West, but through advocacy, protest, struggle and a constant resistance to hegemonic forms of representation. The dominance of an economic or political elite requires only the status quo, a subaltern's progress needs active change. In the context of contemporary Europe, any resistance to the commercial, political and military dominance wielded by individual western countries, or by the European Union as a whole, which exerts ultimate power over the eastern European countries into which it has spread, requires the fervent engagement of commentators, activists and the eastern European states themselves.¹³⁰ Yet what so often occurs is the display of an all-encompassing scepticism that serves the status quo as effectively as open support for

¹²⁹ Another feature of Rimmer's text which leads to the same point, is his personification of Cold War Europe as a single, though divided, body. Although claiming that 'going over to the other side of the Wall was in some sense connected with travelling into another part of one's own nature', as if the two sides are equal, his characterisation of the western side as 'liberal, spendthrift and hedonistic,' and the eastern side as 'furtive, austere and authoritarian' reinscribes traditional hierarchy (see *Ibid.*, p. 16). Chamberlain also pursues the divided self analogy to the same end. Internalising the east/west division of human characteristics, she claims her time in eastern Europe has 'developed the East Bloc side of my personality', a side comprising 'austerity', 'enlightening discomfort, 'tyranny' and 'obstructiveness' (see Chamberlain, *Communist Mirror*, p. 190).

¹³⁰ Others have made the same point in the Balkan context: Norris writes that because 'what happens there is of less importance than the broader strategic interests of larger nations [...] [Balkan] cultures have a vulnerable existence, dependent on and yet resistant to the foreign gaze' (Norris, *Balkan Myth*, p. 36), and Wolff writes that eastern Europe's response to its peripheralisation has been composed of 'complex cultural strategies of resistance, appropriation, deference, complicity and counterattack' (Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 373).

'westernisation';¹³¹ when an intellectual community finds nothing to value in eastern Europe, nothing to stand against the western system, that commentary props up the notion that the West is the superior entity simply by failing to provide evidence to the contrary.

Looking at contemporary self-representation more generally, this connection between autobiographical construction and the fields of European power was even more apparent in those texts in which the selfhood returns to more traditional identifications. The exertion of such attributes as masculinism, imperial nostalgia and the authoritarian drive not only recall the superiority that Victorians had scripted for themselves, but also the political inferences of that superiority. As I argued in Chapter 1, the control and mastery that travellers or residents like Lear, Le Queux, Dunkin and Barkley gained over Balkan populations had mirrored imperial aspirations for the region by casting the indigenes as discordant, unruly, innately subordinate races who required outside administration: personal power transforms into a metonym for national power. That this is also true for the post-Cold War period can be shown by the symbolic proximity between the personal drive to mastery and the economic, military, judicial and administrative control western institutions have been gaining in the Balkans, however individualistic the travellers believe themselves to be. So it is that Thurnham's assistance in the establishment of a western charity's command of institutional space, Una Pride's proud claim, in Bulgaria, to be 'a sort of missionary figure [for] the English language', and Sally Becker's self-fashioning as a 'courageous' crusader for Bosnian children beset by barbarity and incompetence,¹³² ape more political forms of power in the way they install and justify western influence. The political inferences of traditionalist identification are clearly more overt than those of postmodern self-fashioning, particularly as the former category includes not only the most popular and favourably reviewed travel writers on the region, such as Kaplan, Carver and Fonseca, but also some of the figures within those institutions of balkanism - the charities, militaries, governments and

¹³¹ Kaplan's *Questions of Travel* (1996) offers an excellent analysis of postmodernism's complicity with 'Europcentricisms and other forms of cultural domination' (Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, p. 64).

¹³² Pride, *What Do I Know*, p. 35; Becker, *Angel of Mostar*, p. 22. As Meštrović has pointed out, the western politicians and diplomats involved in the Yugoslav crisis were imaged in the media as 'rational, calm, cool and collected, the very embodiment of Enlightenment traditions' (Meštrović, *Balkanisation*, p. 81), a construction that also justified the western assumption of power in the region that these figures helped to facilitate.

international bodies - which have been putting into practice the western mastery of the Balkans.

The retrogressive tendencies of balkanism during the period, both in representation of the other and in this politically-charged self-fashioning, are also found in the stylistic features of contemporary travel writing. After the belated dalliance with modernism in the 1920s and 1930s, Cold War travel writing returned to conventional empiricism, a mode which was naturally more suited to the period's concern with tourist facilities and transport links, and after which British travel writing on the Balkans never regained its experimental flair. The Cold War was certainly the era, to return to Barth's point, when a rejection of modernist innovation, now entrenched and institutionalised, was taking place in all literary genres; although in the case of travel writing this rejection merely presaged a return to the even more entrenched mode of adventure narrative. I do not wish to infer that some of the techniques associated with postmodernist cultural production are not present. The pastiche, irony, linguistic scepticism, self-reflexivity, self-parody, intertextuality, historiography and ontological exploration all make their entrance, and do so in a way that enhances the air of postmodern self-writing. But overall such strategies are marginal, and tend to assist the workings of power in a manner supposedly alien to postmodernist practice in other genres. The point is best exemplified by that range of techniques one would normally consider self-reflexive, or metafictional.¹³³ By this I mean self-conscious discussions of the text, the pastiche of older narrational approaches to the geographical object, the deployment of devices primarily associated with fiction, pronouncements within the text of the shortcomings, even demise of travel writing, frame-breaking techniques, and expressions of subjectivism or empirical incertitude.¹³⁴ In

¹³³ Waugh defines the latter as 'a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality', and goes on to say 'such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text': Patricia Waugh, *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), p. 2.

¹³⁴ For examples of the deployment of the devices of fiction, see James, *Vagabond*, p. 120; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, pp. 64-8, 74-81, 91-5; or Drysdale's *Looking for George* and Jones's *Biografi*, both of which take on many of the attributes of 'the psychological thriller [and] the detective novel' (Tobias Wolff, 'Foreword' to Drysdale, *Looking for George*, p. ix). For critical pronouncements on travel writing, see Morgan's comment that there is no point in recording some of his adventures because '[e]veryone has read that kind of stuff before: most have been through it themselves' (Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 159) or Carver's 'fears that the travel book had become an exhausted form, mannered and self-regarding.'

the latter instance, Simpson's lament that journalists in Bosnia could not 'understand what was really going on', Scott-Stokes's admission that she lacks the 'years of study [needed] to come to an informed opinion on the region', or Sommelius's conviction that he will never get at "[t]he truth about Yugoslavia", are typical of a certain strain in postmodernist writing.¹³⁵ As a mode of commentary on western society, the process of foregrounding the unknowable quality of what lies around one, of 'denying the reality of the outside world', as McHale puts it, might still 'be seen as a bold gesture of resistance, a refusal to acquiesce in a coercive "bourgeois" order of things.'¹³⁶ Yet in the Balkan context, it did not so much question the western Gaze, as help establish the thoroughly obfuscatory attitude to truth in the region itself, thereby merely reinforcing a trope of traditional balkanism.¹³⁷ Another example of the process is Scott Malcomson's technique of narrating his journey via the second person singular, a strategy which, with the idiosyncratic nature of much of what 'you' see, becomes an ironic take on the traditional tour guide; on 'your journey'¹³⁸ in Romania, for example, you take a walk round Bucharest and find yourself before the country's most notorious building:

with the travel writer needing 'to re-invent the genre after Bruce Chatwin' (Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 331), or Hall's aside (which he frequently exemplifies) that the travel book is that "sort of book where you make fun of everyone you meet" (Hall, *Impossible Country*, p. 403). For self-consciousness, see Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 26, 36, 161; Streeter, *Along the Ridge*, p. 1; Rimmer, *Once Upon a Time*, p. 272; Hall, *Stealing from a Deep Place*, pp. 144, 168, 181-2; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, pp. 162-3; Glazebrook, *Journey*, pp. 74, 106, 123, 134, 167, 203, 237-8. In what I read as a pastiche of past forms of adventurous travel, which also breaks the frame of the narration, both Maclean and Hawks travel with encumbrances (a pig and a large plastic table respectively) which will inevitably lead to significant mishaps (see Maclean, *Stalin's Nose*, p. 9; Hawks, *Playing the Moldovans*, p. 16).

¹³⁵ Simpson, *Under Siege*, p. 450; Scott-Stokes, *Amber Trail*, p. 186; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, p. 26. See also the travel writers' doubts about their writing in Fermor, *Between the Woods and the Water*, p. 12; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. 321; and James, *Vagabond*, p. 77; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, pp. 26-7, 32, 105.

¹³⁶ McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction*, p. 219.

¹³⁷ As I have argued in Chapter 4, p. 227, this was not the case during the inter-war period, mainly because there had not been the persistent emphasis on obfuscation to channel the way that such uncertainty was read.

¹³⁸ Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, p. 3. This usage of the second person, which takes us back to the Gordons in Brod, is unusual (see also Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, pp. 56-7). The use of the first person plural by writers like Ignatieff ('Back in 1989, we thought the new world order opened up by the breaching of the Berlin Wall would be ruled by philosopher kings [...]. We assumed that national self-determination had to mean freedom [...]. As usual we were wrong' (in *Blood and Belonging*, p. 28), also creates an unproblematic union between author and implied reader that excludes (amongst others)

The House of the People is enormous and not pretty. The dictator was always changing his mind about this feature or that; the result looks like a collection of things from other buildings. The dictator's house looms huge in its indecision. When you stand in front of the house and look back down the boulevard, you can see what was supposed to be here. The boulevard was supposed to be bustling with cars, water should be splashing from the fountains, plants growing vigorously, the electric lights blazing, happy people shopping and savoring their happiness. All this is possible, in principle. But what you see instead are a few Romanian cars groaning and wheezing.¹³⁹

This substitution of the reader for the traveller-narrator on one level foregrounds fictionality, suspending belief in the empiricism of the description by ejecting the omniscient, monologic author, by fabricating the reader's presence in the scene, and consequently by fictionalising the sources of information. At least, this is one way of looking at it. In my reading, the passage simply returns us via a veneer of stylistic sophistication to all the classic balkanist motifs - the absurdity, the backwardness, the barbarous governance, the (architectural) chaos, the fascination with the worst locations and moments in Balkan history, the inherent nature of the region's shortcomings (evoked by usage of the present tense), and the general air of melancholy and absence which 'you' (and not the writer) gauge by imagining the cars, fountains and 'happiness' of western shopping malls. In this typical instance of the consumer gaze, the author is collapsed into the reader, and an unbroken, unproblematised continuum between balkanist conceptualisation and its reception is created.¹⁴⁰

The links that supposedly innovative techniques have with traditional balkanism are compounded by the complicity such techniques also have with power. The point is crystallised in a second major postmodernist strategy to enter British travel writing, that of heteroglossia, the technique of fragmenting textual discourse into a number of

people from the Balkan region itself. The usage of the first person possessive (Loyd's *My War Gone By*, Pride's chapter title, 'My Preslav', in *What Do I Know*, p. 11), is also worthy of note.

¹³⁹ Malcomson, *Empire's Edge*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ In the context of guide books on the Orient, Behdad argues that this construction of 'you', the reading subject, is a way of 'claim[ing] the realization of its reader's fantasy as an immediate and possible reality - in contrast with the retrospective discourse of the travelogue, which implies a geographical distance between the reading position and the visited Orient' (Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, p. 42).

juxtaposed, and relativised, voices. The ploy has been especially apparent in work on the former Yugoslavia, as exemplified by Brian Hall's *The Impossible Country* (1994), an account of a journey, in 1991, around a country on the verge of disintegration. Even on a basic visual level, the text dramatises Hall's thesis about the innately fractured, polyphonic nature of Yugoslavia by structurally dividing the account into free-standing regional sections (entitled 'Zagreb', 'Belgrade', 'Sarajevo'), each rigidly cut off from the other by large breaks of several blank pages, as if they are entities wholly lacking connection. Compounding the point, each section depicts a region's national or ethnic discourse, both its self-image and its opprobrium of the other, a process that when passing from Croatia to Serbia, say, or from Serbia to Kosovo, allows the author ostensibly 'to see the enemy through their eyes, then meet the enemy and turn around to look back', but that in actual fact deconstructs all discourses by playing them off against each other.¹⁴¹ It is a cynical, relativistic, historiographic mode which, while in no way relinquishing the controlling voice of the author, as intended by heteroglossic usage in postmodernist fiction or poetry,¹⁴² has the same effect of shattering the object. On the issue of Yugoslavia, of course, this supposedly radical technique mirrored exactly the articulations of official discourse, which denied truth to any of the region's ethnic-national narratives, and which viewed the fighting as an inevitable outcome of innate discords and rivalries, the country's 'peasant tribalism' being, as Hall writes, its 'genetic predisposition to cancer'.¹⁴³ Such relativism was common, and often found in the bluntest manner. Simpson, for example, sums things up by saying on ex-Yugoslavia that he 'didn't like the place at all', that he 'found each of the population groups - Serbs, Croats and Muslims - equally unattractive', and even that a BBC colleague was right to argue that the anti-Serbianism supposedly inflicting reportage of the Bosnian wars is a shameful manifestation of "partiality and bias".¹⁴⁴ Again, such statements directly

¹⁴¹ Hall, *Impossible Country*, p. x. For a contained example of such a technique, see pp. 326-30, where in a series of short paragraphs, Hall juxtaposes the radically different versions of self and other offered to the author by Serbians and Albanians in Kosova.

¹⁴² As Duncan and Ley comment on postmodernist geographical writing, authorial presence and control 'is ever more evident in strongly stylised forms of writing', not least because it is the 'author [...] who has, after all, defined the project in the first place' (Duncan and Ley, 'Introduction', p. 8.).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁴⁴ Simpson, 'Under Siege', p. 450. Another example in kind is Loyd's *My War Gone By*, which, despite his claim that 'right and wrong' did exist in the war, often tends to 'blame[...] all sides equally.' For example, he writes that '[y]ou could take sides in Bosnia easily enough if you wished, but it never

mirror the official political announcement of impartiality towards each of the 'warring factions' which had as its inevitable result a discrimination against the weakest of those factions, the Muslims of central Bosnia.

It is true to say, however, that an objective, 'transparent' style has dominated post-Cold War travel writing, a fact that is not so much a reflection on the genre, or on specific writings on Bosnia, but on the way stylistic experimentation is not as common a feature of today's intellectual production as some critics might have us suppose. In the Balkan context, certainly, there was a wide-ranging return to the materialist, positivist outlook which believed that truth - to paraphrase Locke's empiricism - is embedded in the exterior world, requiring only the exertion of our senses for the objects of that world to 'obtrude their particular *ideas* upon our minds'.¹⁴⁵ This traditionalist, common sense approach, which assumes truth to be the same for all disinterested observers, saw little room for complexity or epistemological uncertainty when it came to locating, decoding and mastering the 'realities' that composed the Balkan object, and to placing those 'realities' in language.¹⁴⁶ So it is that Maclean believes he has unwoven 'truths' from the 'untangled threads' of the Balkans, that Whittell, a bicyclist, senses the realities of the Balkans 'unfold and inexorably rearrange themselves around my slowly moving point of view', that Russell, on the Yugoslav conflict, feels 'only outsiders [i.e. himself] could write about it without prejudice', and that Thurnham is quite confident she can 'make a contribution to the understanding of [...] Romania'.¹⁴⁷ Another example comes in

allowed you complete peace of mind' (Loyd, *My War Gone By*, pp. 111, 20, 102). To a similar end, some travel writers on the former Yugoslavia fail to specify clearly which ethnic groups they are talking about, producing a textual confusion bewildering for non-specialists. The patterns of representation in Becker's *The Angel of Mostar* and Haggerty's *Letters of a Nobody* exemplify the point, the latter frequently referring to 'local madmen', to people 'trying to kill each other', or to 'the way that they "ethnically cleanse" an area', but rarely explaining who's killing who, or which ethnic group 'they', or the 'madmen', are (see Haggerty, *Letters*, pp. 101, 36, 81).

¹⁴⁵ John Locke, quoted in T.J. Diffey, 'The Roots of Imagination: The Philosophical Context', in Stephen Prickett, ed., *The Romantics* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 167.

¹⁴⁶ Wolff says of the western gaze (ostensibly in its eighteenth century manifestation, but in wording that holds true for today) that 'there was a Europe that held certain beliefs [...] and another Europe which appeared only as an object of regard, an item of news, a point of controversy. There was Europe as subject and Europe as object [...]' (Larry Wolff, 'Voltaire's Public and the Idea of Eastern Europe: Toward a Literary Sociology of Continental Division', *Slavic Review* 54, No. 4 (Winter 1995), p. 935.

¹⁴⁷ Maclean, *Stalin's Nose*, p. 148; Whittell, *Lambada Country*, p. 162; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 178; Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, p. 26. Pursuing the empiricist idea that 'you had to suffer with the others in order to understand', Kaplan's text opens with a scene in which he visits a Serbian

Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars*, a book seemingly postmodern in its strategies of intertextuality, self-reflexivity and pastiche, but which is actually grounded in absolute objectivism:

In coming on the scene I had an instinctive feeling of putting my hand on what I wanted. This is what it was like. Details of clothes and all the little anachronisms in the picture - wires, motors and so on - don't signify in the sudden vivid stroke of light your imagination can receive. This is what it felt like to be there. If you catch at that, and keep it, you have a keynote. The essence is in your grasp. From a living fire you take a live coal.¹⁴⁸

Glazebrook's preference might be for the romantic, post-Enlightenment faculty of imagination, but his confidence about capturing truth, or 'essence', which in turn reflects personal confidence in a stable, coherent subject position,¹⁴⁹ is no less than that of the *philosophes*,¹⁵⁰ particularly considering his objective style, declarative tone, simple diction and overtly memetic theory of travel writing - the 'live coal' of the travelogue mirroring the 'living fire' of the travelled environment.¹⁵¹ Naturally, this objectifying gaze

monastery in the pitch dark of an 'awful, predawn hour' in order to glimpse what he calls the Orthodox Church's 'terrifying' 'primitivism', a 'spiritual instruction [that] exacts toil and rewards it with a revelation of hell and redemption that is equally physical.' Again, he justifies this absurd business by saying: 'If the intruder from the West is not willing to feel with his whole being, he cannot hope to understand' (see Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 222, xv-xvii).

¹⁴⁸ Glazebrook, *Journey*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁹ Holland and Huggan correctly point out that although 'there *ought* to be an affinity between travel writing and postmodernism', particularly in terms of the latter's acknowledgement of the 'instability of the human subject', the tendency still is for travel writers to 'continue by and large to assume stable experiential identities, and to present their destinations, guaranteed by geography and history, as ontologically secure' (Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p. 158). There was certainly not much of what Bartkowski terms 'the postmodern fashion of questioning identity' (Bartkowski, *Travelers*, p. 103).

¹⁵⁰ Easthope makes the same point about the romantics themselves, when he says their poetry so often 'rejoins the tradition of empiricist discourse' by assuming that '[r]eality is given, the individual subject is given, and the first is available to the second outside socially constructed representation' (Easthope, *Englishness*, p. 107).

¹⁵¹ Elsewhere, he suggests not imagination, or the sudden flash of insight, as the way to the truth, but rather the prosaic process of research, asserting that 'to catch the persisting flavour, it is necessary to hang around the streets of the place, and walk, and poke in alleys, and above all to be patient' (Glazebrook, *Journey*, p. 121; see also, pp. 177-9, 221). One feature of the authors' empiricism was their conviction that they knew more than the locals, and did not need to receive information from local

leads into a mastery of landscape, the western viewer pursuing an inspection and bounding of the geographical object in language which reflects material forms of conquest and control. Morgan gives a wonderful sense of this when depicting a British Army map of Bosnia from the time of the UN 'peacekeeping' mission. The indigene would not have recognised the topography: 'most of Yugoslavia's towns and cities,' Morgan says, 'had disappeared under an alien tracery of aid routes and supply depots', the republics now 'divided into United Nations "zones" and "sectors", the roads 'renamed', and the human settlements 'obscured, as if viewed through several panes of thick glass': 'This was another Bosnia', he concludes, 'a territory reshaped and customised for the needs of outsiders.'¹⁵² The West's symbolic conquest of Bosnia is well observed, though what Morgan fails to acknowledge is that contemporary travel writing also pursues conquest on the level of the sign. Still unable to see why Balkan place names should be spelt correctly, post-Cold War writers alter toponymy almost as readily as the Victorians, presenting the region through a welter of phoneticisms, anglicisations, erasures of diacritical marks and - most extraordinarily after the lapse of time - the constant reinscribings of colonial nomenclature.¹⁵³ As with the imperial period, all this indicated a place that is once again available for western control.¹⁵⁴

sources, a very Victorian arrogance whose intimation of personal independence and mastery was a major remuneration for both nineteenth-century and late twentieth-century travellers. This can be seen in Hall, *Impossible Country*, pp.127-8, 284; Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, pp. 178-9; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 147, 152-3; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 114, 143, 166, 226, 230; Sommelius, *Iron Gates*, pp. 99, 101-5; Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing*, pp. 83, 290; Dilke, *Road to Dalmatia*, p. 162; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, pp. 25, 65-6, 70, 101, 127, 127, 210, 241, 270-1.

¹⁵² Morgan, *Barrel of Stones*, p. 68.

¹⁵³ For examples of one or other of these, see Selbourne, *Death of the Dark Hero*, p. 57; Bassett, *Balkan Hours*, pp. 9, 23, 29, 33, 38; Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. x, 40-3, 119; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. xiii, 172-3; Carver, *Accursed Mountains*, p. xii; Fermor, *Between the Woods and the Water*, pp. 12-3, 108, 138, 151, 156, 218; Thurnham, *Sophie's Journey*, pp. 82, 83, 84; Rhodes, *Dalmatian Coast*, pp. 14, 18, 54, 61, 70. Kaplan and Winchester even dredge up old designations for the peninsula (see Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, p. 52; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 58, 71, 81). For the anglicisations and renamings of people's names, see Pride, *What Do I Know*, pp. 28, 36, 38; Rimmer, *Once Upon A Time*, pp. 230-2; Streeter, *Along the Ridge*, p. 153. Aldiss's choice of the native 'Yugoslavia' over the commonly anglicised Yugoslavia, and Simon's tendency to use native spellings and then, via phonetics, to teach the reader to pronounce them - for example, 'Fagaras (Fuh-guh-rahsh)' (Simon, *Gypsy in Me*, p. 309) - are both very rare. For a denigration of Balkan languages, see Maclean, *Stalin's Nose*, p. 159; Winchester, *Fracture Zone*, pp. 172-3; Gardiner, *Curtain Calls*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁵⁴ If '[n]aming is creating', as Imbert argues, and if '[k]nowing the name, pronouncing it, is to exercise power over the being or the object', the additional act of choosing that name can exacerbate that exercise

It should be said, to conclude, that positive representation did not simply vanish after the Cold War. The attractive landscapes, the warmth of human communities, the primitivist romance, even the moments of illumination and transcendence, all recurred in the post-1989 Balkan travelogue, though in a manner both overshadowed by denigration and - intriguingly - vastly reduced in frequency and degree from the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵ Yet in terms of the representational dominant, the Balkans are most commonly constructed as a space of savage otherness. On the one hand, as this section has argued, such imagery is used to set off those qualities we most wish to find about ourselves, whether this be our capacity for morality and authority, or our postmodern predilection for the darker sides of human experience. On the other hand, fed by the personal response, the region has proved essential as a general civilisational other: in the temporary absence of the grand enmities of the past (the colonial wars, world wars and Cold Wars), the Balkans have formed a sort of stopgap alterity which, especially in the shape of UN peacekeeping in Bosnia and NATO air strikes on Serbia, maintained the fear of barbarism and social breakdown in western publics until - in the shape of global terrorism - the real replacement for the old enmities finally arrived.

of power, especially in the geographical context (see Jean-Philippe Imbert, 'J.-M.G. Le Clezio, Writer of Exile: A treatment of Childhood and Exile in *Desert* and *Etoile Errante*' in Coulson, ed., *Exiles and Migrants*, p. 203).

¹⁵⁵ For example, see the complimentary representation in Smith's *A Bulgarian Diary*, Chamberlain's *In the Communist Mirror*, James's *Vagabond*, Hamilton and Solanki's *Albania*, Sherer and Senechal's *Long Life to Your Children* and Brân's *After Yugoslavia*. As I have discussed on p. 299 above (in reference to Bosnia), the choice of a pet state has continued after 1989, with even Kaplan revealing a special fondness for Bulgaria (see his *Balkan Ghosts*, pp. 195, 229-30). As I have mentioned, the measure of effusion/advocacy is much reduced on Victorian times, however. At the same time, the Victorian tendency to attribute specific qualities to Balkan ethnicities (the dour Bulgarians, the soldierly Montenegrins, the happy-go-lucky Serbs), overlaying what was constructed as their essential similarities, was absent from late-twentieth-century denigration. The only exception I can find is the attribution in (mostly) male writing of a certain 'sexual invitingness', even lasciviousness, to Romania (Alex Drace-Francis's phrase, in his pertinent 'Sex, Lies and Stereotypes: Romania in British Literature since 1945', in George Cipăianu and Virgiliu Târău, eds., *Romanian and British Historians on the Contemporary History of Romania* (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2000), p. 90).

CONCLUSION:

POSTCOMMUNISM WITHIN THE ACADEMY

This thesis has attempted a genealogy of the British concept of south-east Europe, hoping to call into question the range of images, motifs and evaluations that currently circulate around the topic. I have been particularly concerned with that air of self-evidence, of strict impartiality, that has evolved within the post-Cold War denigration of the Balkans, this collection of monstrous energies always flickering on the border of the nation's cultural imaginary. I try to demonstrate that this reputation, what Marinetti called *la rage balkanique*,¹ has not been exclusive in British conceptualisation, but forms just one part of a heterogeneous diachronic continuum, one composed of mutable, culturally-situated evaluations and stylistic variations. On the one hand, I argue that if not entirely a Victorian invention, contemporary balkanism is at least a reformulation in the postmodern present of certain *idées reçues* from the nineteenth century, when the region was one of the British Empire's dark places of the earth and received a style of denigratory representation very close to that of Britain's own colonial territories. On the other hand, the profoundly unevolutionary narrative of balkanism is in part composed of a complimentary strain which, at least in the twentieth century, has been far more common than denigration. This complexity and change, this configuration of alterity within shifting historical paradigms, is fundamental to an understanding of balkanist discourse. The region has been, to borrow Buzard's phrase, 'a rhetorical construction',² one through which the West has been able to stage a debate about itself, its own political beliefs and practices, desires and preferences.

In analysing the complexity of the concept, I have attempted to emphasise the wide range of discourses upon which balkanism has drawn at different stages in its history,

¹ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, quoted in Judy Rawson, 'Italian Futurism', in Bradbury and McFarlane, *Modernism*, p. 248. It is Wyndham Lewis who reports Marinetti's use of the term.

² Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 61.

each of which is itself plural, contingent and unstable over time. One can perceive the influence, for example, of some of the most important ideological currents of the last two hundred years of Western European thought: imperialism, romanticism, nationalism and communism have all impacted upon the British conceptualisation of south-east Europe, and have helped to cause its diachronic transformations. Simultaneously, there has been the influence of trends within literary practice. From the confident empiricism of nineteenth-century autobiographical prose, to the more subjectivist and self-conscious modes of modern and postmodern cultural production, literary technique has entered and shaped the styles of travel writing, and consequently affected the manner in which that writing constructs its object. When considered alongside the particular identifications of the travel writers, which are themselves manifestations of the divergent discourses that interpellate the self, and which are central to the ways in which otherness is represented in the text, balkanism reveals itself as a radically heterogeneous discourse. Yet, as I have argued, heterogeneity is not its most significant feature. At all points in its history, interspersed by periods of conceptual struggle, exist these conspicuous, clearly-defined paradigms through which dominant forms of knowledge are circulated, and in which complex, shifting forms of power can be located. It is this paradigmatic manifestation of power-knowledge that I have been particularly concerned to foreground throughout the thesis. There has been no period in which political and economic interests have not surfaced in British relations to south-east Europe, whether this be the Victorian support of Ottoman hegemony, the military allegiances of the world wars, the subtle diplomacies of the Cold War, or the resumption of economic, diplomatic and administrative control after 1989. It is this range of interests that the dominant styles of balkanism have worked to vindicate.

The power that resides within balkanist representation indicates the need for a greater analysis of the discourse in the academy, and more specifically the need for broadening the geographical scope of postcolonial studies. I began my thesis by discussing the current thrust of postcolonialism, the theory and practice through which global culture, power and inequality is pursued in many humanities departments, and by mentioning how south-east Europe, to borrow Todorova's phrase, has been excluded from 'the sphere of interest of postcolonial critique and cultural criticism'.³ Through my

³ Todorova, 'Balkans', p. 481.

examination of the region's ongoing difficulties and crises, I hope to have shown the illogic of what I have called the double marginalisation of the Balkans. As Bryan Cheyette says of postcolonialism's marginalisation of anti-Semitism, there is nothing wrong with the theory's study of its favoured regions, but because it 'does not sufficiently universalise and intertwine particular histories of victimhood',⁴ there are significant instances of injustice, essentialisation and prejudice excluded from analysis. In the context of the Balkans, the exploration of the political and economic relations between the 'first and second' worlds has barely started in departments of literary, cultural, film and media studies, and the opportunity to disseminate dissenting viewpoints, and thereby start to intervene into wider discursive trends, is consequently being lost. If the injustices experienced by south-east Europe, and by other parts of eastern Europe and the postcommunist world, are to be challenged, then a radical change within the academy, a '[s]torming of the fort',⁵ to borrow Amin Malak's phrase, is urgently to be sought.

Yet whether postcolonial studies would welcome the problematised understanding of Europe that exploration of continental power relations would entail is another matter. I am thinking here of the semantic notion of 'Europe' that is commonly constructed and disseminated by the field. In its studies of colonial discourse, the term 'Europe' has emerged as a synonym for that section of the European West involved in imperial expansion, a point exemplified by the clutch of 'Euro'-coinages which are liberally sprinkled around critical texts. 'Eurocentrism', 'Europeanisation', 'Eurocolonialism' - grand, objective-sounding terms - all construct the continent as a homogeneous geopolitical zone whose essential characteristic seems to be that of spreading out and conquering the globe. Like the earlier constructions of 'Christendom', 'Civilisation' and 'Free World', the term still essentialises our concept of Europe, but, paradoxically, essentialises it in as unregenerate a manner as the pejoratives of 'Balkan', 'Byzantine' and 'Levantine'⁶ so frequently do for the referent of south-east Europe.⁷ It may well be

⁴ Cheyette, 'White Skin, Black Masks: Jews and Jewishness in the Writings of George Eliot and Frantz Fanon', in Pearson, et al, eds., *Cultural Readings of Imperialism*, p. 106.

⁵ Malak, 'From Margin to Main: Minority Discourse and "Third World" Fiction Writers in Canada', in Anna Rutherford, ed., *From Commonwealth to Postcolonial* (Sydney: Dangaroo Press, 1992), p. 51.

⁶ The region's toponyms seem fated to enter the English language as pejoratives. 'Slav', most obviously, emerges from the same root as 'slave'. 'Bulgarian', via the French *bougre* and Latin *Bulgarus* has originated the term 'bugger' (as Goldsworthy details in *Inventing Ruritania*, p.36); and 'eastern

that this reified, unproblematised 'Europe' as used in postcolonial studies is found to be a necessary theoretical construct - a point of contrast, or a useable shorthand, grimly evocative of that western imperial strategy which, whatever one's forays into semantics, has achieved for itself incontrovertible spatial existence and temporal duration.

One wonders, however, what position the Balkans - amongst other European regions - could have within this increasingly entrenched conceptual space. By no stretch of the imagination can one conceive the link between Euroexpansionism, for example, and Albania, a European country whose involvement in either military or cultural imperialism remains unclear. Similarly, a nation like Slovenia, lying towards the geographical heart of the continent, may well feel surprised to find itself embroiled, by postcolonial criticism, in the enormous global processes of Eurocentrism and Euro-Americanism. Indeed, when a relatively sympathetic critic like Mark Wheeler can refer to the coming of Western-style modernity to the Balkans after 1914 as a process of 'Europeanisation',⁸ as if premodern Balkan culture had no relation to Europe at all, one catches a glimpse of how ideologically weighted are our theoretical and semantic presumptions. The geographical position and historical experience of the Balkans are not only being marginalised by such neologisms, but utterly eradicated.⁹ And it is in this realm of historical experience that the reason for theoretical exclusion is, in part, to be found. Europe, far from being the unified subject whose agency gives rise to such processes as Eurocentrism and Europeanisation, actually includes within itself the object

European', in the context of food, architecture, fashion and the like, is often used with negative connotations: see, for example, Russell, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy*, p. 140; Haggerty, *Letters from a Nobody*, pp. 95, 104. Maclean also records Churchill using 'levant' as a verb, meaning 'to abscond' or 'to double cross' (see Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, p. 498).

⁷ Ahmad writes on this negative essentialisation of the West: 'These ways of dismissing entire civilisations as diseased formations are unfortunately far too familiar to us, who live on the other side of the colonial divide, from the history of imperialism itself' (Ahmad, *In Theory*, p. 182).

⁸ Wheeler, 'Not So Black As It's Painted: The Balkan Political Heritage', in F.W. Carter and H.T. Norris, eds., *The Changing Shape of the Balkans*, The SOAS/GRC Geopolitical Series (London: UCL Press, 1996), p. 4.

⁹ See also Ludmilla Kostova, 'Inventing Post-Wall Europe: Visions of the 'Old' Continent in Contemporary British Fiction and Drama', in Andy Hollis, ed., *Beyond Boundaries: Textual Representations of European Identity* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi, 2000), pp. 83-4. The editors of *Postcolonial Criticism* also make the point that 'Europe and the West are not coterminous, nor are they homogenous [...]. To see Europe and the West as self-evident and self-contained entities is to repeat the imperialist and colonialist mythologies that one is supposed to be deconstructing' (Moore-Gilbert, et al, 'Introduction', p. 5).

of such processes - the colonised, the subjugated - whose existence radically splits the notion of 'Europe', and renders it unusable as an ideal symbol of the workings of global power. Crucially, once this kind of questioning of our designation begins, it is difficult to see where it could stop. The sense of an unusable, broken subject resurfaces if we make the seemingly reasonable shift from 'Europe' to the 'West'. The latter may be more suited to incorporating the centre-periphery relationship of Western Europe and the Balkans, but again hints at a unified, unproblematic centre which, with its heterogeneity of class, race and gender, is actually fragmented by a number of traditionally silenced peripheries.¹⁰ It has been on top of such contingency and oppression that colonialism and neo-imperialism constructed that ideological compound of unity, order, civility and progress which, for both internal and external consumption, erased the sign of its own internal otherness. Faced with the same bewildering social landscape, the parallel construction of unity by postcolonialism becomes a little more understandable, although no less disingenuous.

It may appear that in debating the instability of the term 'Europe' and the 'West' I have come a long way from the instability of the British concept of the Balkans. Yet it seems to me that they are all evidence that an urge towards essentialisation remains an important part of our spatial awareness. If a closer understanding of cultural difference is to be sought, a breaking down of such essential concepts is necessary, even if the rather tame conclusion is only that the West and its others are all comprised of a mixture of domination and resistance, civilisation and savagery, good and bad that resists easy generalisation and geographical specificity. The acknowledgement of localism, of the working away from local knowledge rather than general theory, is a crucial first step in this direction, and for which more sustained study of the local experience of the Balkans becomes pertinent. A field within literary and cultural scholarship of Balkan Studies, as one could tentatively name the project, or a larger field of postcommunism, preferably, would not only initiate the long overdue disruption of our theoretical construction of the continent, upon which any future process of unification has to be based, but also help develop a more profound awareness of the intricate relations of power that exist within this frequently homogenised region. For this disruptive strategy, this 'adversary

¹⁰ See Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 272.

scholarship'¹¹ in Shohat's evocative phrase, the notion of 'balkanisation' may yet be rejuvenated by academic theory as a thoroughly positive process.¹²

¹¹ Ella Shohat, 'Columbus, Palestine and Arab-Jews: Toward a Relational Approach to Community Identity', in Pearson, et al, eds., *Cultural Readings*, p. 90. Calling for a more inclusive understanding of transnational power, Shohat calls for postcolonial studies to be an 'adversary scholarship' that 'work[s] against taboo formulations, policed identities, and censored affiliations.'

¹² It might be remembered that in its original context the term 'balkanisation' was not necessarily negative, referring as it did to the breaking down by Balkan national groups of 'the huge, polyglot, imperial-dynastic systems inherited from the age of absolutism' (Anderson's phrase: Benedict Anderson, 'Exodus', *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Winter 1994), p. 319). Pavlowitch, for example, with reference to the Ottomans and Habsburgs, remarks that "Balkanization" was coined to refer to the break-up of these two dynastic empires' by populations 'shedding imperial legacies and [...] assuming the form of nation-states' (Pavlowitch, *History*, p. 333).

BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

- Abbott, G.F., *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1903).
- Abraham, J. Johnston, *My Balkan Log* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1922).
- Ackroyd, Peter, *Notes for a New Culture: An Essay on Modernism*, Barnes and Noble Critical Studies (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1976).
- Adamić, Louis, *The Native's Return: An American Immigrant Visits Yugoslavia and Discovers His Old Country* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1934).
- Agee, Chris, 'Introduction' to Chris Agee, ed., *Scar on the Stone: Contemporary Poetry from Bosnia* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books, 1998).
- Ahmad, Aijaz, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Albanian Evangelical Mission, *Mission Albania: Ten Years of Vital Christian Work for the Albanian People* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 1996).
- Aldcroft, Derek H. & Steven Morewood, *Economic Change in Eastern Europe since 1918* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995).
- Aldiss, Brian W., *Cities and Stones: A Traveller's Yugoslavia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966).
- Alexander, Nora, *Wanderings in Yugoslavia* (London: Skeffington and Son, 1936).
- Alexander, Ruth, *Stones, Hilltops and the Sea: Some Jugo-slavian Impressions* (London: Alston Rivers, 1929).
- Allcock, John B. & Antonia Young, eds., *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: Women Travellers in the Balkans* (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1991).

¹ I have noted the misspellings in the titles of Joan Simpkin's and Frederick Moore's texts in the bibliography, but not in the main body of the dissertation.

- Almond, Mark, *The Rise and Fall of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu* (London: Chapmans, 1992).
- *Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans* (London: Heinemann, 1994).
- Amery, Julian, *Sons of the Eagle: A Study in Guerilla War* (London: Macmillan, 1948).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1983).
 ————— 'Exodus', *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Winter 1994).
- Anderson, Dorothy, *Miss Irby and her Friends* (London: Hutchinson, 1966).
 ————— *The Balkan Volunteers* (London: Hutchinson, 1968).
- Anderson, M.S., ed., *The Great Powers and the Near East, 1774-1923* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970).
- Andrew, D.D., *Bulgaria and Romania, Around the World Program* (Garden City, New York: Nelson Doubleday, 1967).
- Anon, *An Itinerary from London to Constantinople, in Sixty Days (Taken in the Suite of His Excellency, the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte) in the Year 1794 (? : ?, 1805).*
- Anon, *A Journey through Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia* (London: Chiswick Press, 1928).
- Ansted, D.T., *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1862).
- Antal, Dan, *Out of Romania*, new ed. (1994; London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995).
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 'Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?', *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Winter 1991).
- Archer, Laird, *Balkan Journal* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1944).
- Arnold, Guy, *Down the Danube: From the Black Forest to the Black Sea* (London: Cassell, 1989).
- Arnold, R. Arthur, *From the Levant, the Black Sea and the Danube*, 2 Vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1868).
- Ash, William, *Pickaxe and Rifle* (London: Howard Baker, 1974).
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures, New Accents* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Askew, Alice & Claude, *The Stricken Land: Serbia As We Saw It* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1916).

- Auerbach, Erich, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968).
- Baerlein, Henry, *And Then to Transylvania* (London: Harold Shaylor, 1931).
Bessarabia and Beyond (London: Methuen, 1935).
Travels without a Passport, first series (London: Frederick Muller, 1941).
Travels without a Passport, second series (London: Frederick Muller, 1942).
The Caravan Rolls On (London: Frederick Muller, 1944).
- Baker, Valentine, *War in Bulgaria: A Narrative of Personal Experiences*, 2 Vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879).
- Bakić-Hayden, Milica, 'Nesting Orientalism: The Case of Former Yugoslavia', *Slavic Review* 54, No. 4 (winter 1995).
- Bakić-Hayden, Milica & Robert M. Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics', *Slavic Review* 51, No. 1 (Spring 1992).
- Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed., *Mapping the Nation*, Mapping (London and New York: Verso, 1996).
- Ball, Oona H., *Dalmatia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932).
- Barkan, Elazar & Marie-Denise Shelton, eds., *Borders, Exiles, Diasporas*, Cultural Sitings (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- Barker, Albert, *Memories of Macedonia* (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, c.1917).
- Barker, Elisabeth, *Truce in the Balkans* (London: Percival Marshall, 1948).
- Barker, Francis, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, & Diana Loxley, eds., *Europe and Its Others*, Essex Sociology of Literature Conference, Vol. 1 (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985).
- Barker, Francis, Peter Hulme & Margaret Iversen, eds., *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, The Essex Symposia (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- Barkley, Henry C., *Between the Danube and Black Sea: Or, Five Years in Bulgaria* (London: John Murray, 1876).

- Barnes, Julian,**
Barrington, Mrs Russell,
Barthes, Roland,
Bartkowski, Frances,
Barzini, Luigi,
Bassett, Richard,
Bassnett, Susan,

Baucom, Ian,
Becker, Sally,
Behdad, Ali,
Bell, Martin,
Bell, Michael,
Bellow, Saul,
Benedict, Ruth,
- Bulgaria Before the War: During Seven Years' Experience of European Turkey and Its Inhabitants* (London: John Murray, 1977).
The Porcupine, new ed. (1992; London: Picador, 1993).
Through Greece and Dalmatia: A Diary of Impressions Recorded by Pen and Picture (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912).
Mythologies, new ed., trans. Annette Lavers (1957; London: Jonathan Cape, 1972).
Travelers, Immigrants, Inmates: Essays in Estrangement (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
The Impossible Europeans (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983).
Balkan Hours: Travels in the Other Europe (London: John Murray, 1990).
Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1993).
 'Travel Writing within British Studies', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999).
 'Interview with Colin Thubron', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999).
Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999).
The Angel of Mostar: One Woman's Fight to Rescue Children in Bosnia (London: Hutchinson, 1994).
Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution (Cork: Cork University Press/Duke University Press, 1994).
In Harm's Way: Reflections of a War Zone Thug (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1995).
Primitivism, Critical Idiom (London: Methuen, 1972).
The Dean's December (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982).
Race and Racism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983).

- Benson, Theodora, *The Unambitious Journey* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935).
- Berger, Florence K., *A Winter in the City of Pleasure; Or, Life on the Lower Danube* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1877).
- Berger, Peter L. & Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, new ed. (1966; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
- Berman, Marshall, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1983).
- Berry, James, F. May Dickinson Berry & W. Lyon Blease, *The Story of a Red Cross Unit in Serbia* (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1916).
- Bertens, Hans, *The Idea of the Postmodern: A History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).
- Best, J.J., *Excursions in Albania: Comprising a Description of the Wild Boar, Deer, and Woodcock Shooting in that Country; and a Journey from thence to Thessalonica and Constantinople, and up the Danube to Pest* (London: W.H. Allen, 1842).
- Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Birkett, Dea, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
- Bland, William B., *A Short Guide to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania* (Bristol, England: Regent Holidays/The Albanian Society, 1981).
- *Albania*, World Bibliographic Series, Vol. 94 (Oxford: Clio, 1988).
- Blount, Henry, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of a Journey, Lately Performed by Master H.B. Gentleman, from England by the Way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo: with Particular Observations Concerning the Moderne Condition of the Turkes, and Other People under that Empire*, 2nd ed. (1636; London: Andrew Crooke, 1637).

- Blunt, Fanny,
Bongie, Chris, *My Reminiscences* (London: John Murray, 1918).
*Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin de
Siecle* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press,
1991).
- Booth, John L.C., *Trouble in the Balkans* (London: Hurst and Blackett,
1905).
- Bradbury, Malcolm, *The Social Context of Modern English Literature* (Oxford:
Basil Blackwell, 1972).

Rates of Exchange (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982).
Why Come to Slaka?, new ed. (1986; London: Arena,
1987).
The Modern American Novel, new ed. (1983; Oxford and
New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Bradbury, Malcolm, ed., *The Novel Today: Contemporary Writers on Modern
Fiction*, new ed. (1977; London: Fontana, 1977).
- Bradbury, Malcolm, &
James McFarlane, eds., *Modernism 1890-1930* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).
- Bradbury, Malcolm, &
Sigmund Ro, eds., *Contemporary American Fiction* (London: Edward Arnold,
1987).
- Brailsford, H.N., *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London: Methuen,
1906)
- Brân, Zoë, *After Yugoslavia*, Lonely Planet Journeys (Melbourne:
Lonely Planet Publications, 2001).
- Brantlinger, Patrick, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism,
1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press,
1988).
- Brooker, Peter, ed., *Modernism/Postmodernism*, Longman Critical Readers
(London and New York: Longman, 1992).
- Broughton, J.C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, rpt. ed., The Eastern Europe
Collection (1811; New York: Arno Press and The New
York Times, 1971)
- Brown, Alec, *Yugoslav Life and Landscape* (London and New York:
Elek, 1954).
- Brown, Ann, *Before Knossos ... : Arthur Evans's Travels in the Balkans
and Crete* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Ashmolean
Museum, 1993).

- Brown, Dennis, *The Modernist Self in Twentieth-Century English Literature: A Study in Self-Fragmentation* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989).
- Brown, Edward, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli. And Also Some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-Silver Mines, Baths, and Mineral Waters in Those Parts: With the Figures of Some Habits and Remarkable Places* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1673).
- Brown, H.A., *A Winter in Albania* (London: Griffith, Farren, Okeden and Welsh, 1888).
- Brown, Mrs Kenneth
[Demetra Vaka], *In the Shadow of Islam* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).
- Bruce Lockhart, R.H., *Guns or Butter* (London: Putnam, 1938).
- Bryson, Bill, *Neither Here Nor There: Travels in Europe*, new ed. (1991; London: Minerva, 1992).
- Buckley, Jerome Hamilton, *The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress, and Decadence* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967).
- Burgess, Alan, *The Lovely Sergeant*, rpt ed. (1963; London: Companion Book Club, 1963).
- Burr, Malcolm, *Slouch Hat* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935).
- Buxton, Noel, *With the Bulgarian Staff* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1913).
- Buzard, James, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture", 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- 'Culture for Export: Tourism and Autoethnography in Postwar Britain', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (Spring 1998).
- Bygrave, Steven, ed., *Romantic Writing*, 2nd ed. *Approaching Literature* (1996; London: Routledge/Open University, 1998).
- Cain, P.J. & A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914-1990* (London and New York: Longman, 1993).
- Campbell, Joseph, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2nd ed. (1949; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968).

- Cardigan, Earl of, *Youth Goes East* (London: Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, 1928).
- Carpenter, Frank G., *The Alps, the Danube, and the Near East: Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Italy, Greece, Turkey*, Carpenter's World Travels (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1925).
- Carter, F.W. & H.T. Norris, eds., *The Changing Shape of the Balkans*, The SOAS/GRC Geopolitics Series (London: UCL Press, 1996).
- Carver, Robert, *The Accursed Mountains: Journeys in Albania*, new ed. (1998; London: Flamingo, 1999).
- Cary, Joyce, *Memoir of the Bobotes*, new ed. (1960; London: Readers Union, 1965).
- Cataldi, Anna, *Letters from Sarajevo: Voices of a Besieged City*, trans. Avril Bardoni (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1994).
- Chamberlain, Lesley, *In the Communist Mirror: Journeys in Eastern Europe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990).
- Cheyfitz, Eric, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Chomsky, Noam, 'Bombing and Human Rights: Behind the Rhetoric', *The Spokesman* 65 (1999).
- Cigar, Norman, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"*, Eastern European Series (College Station, Texas : Texas A&M University Press, 1995).
- Clark, Steve, ed., *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1999).
- "Bang at Its Moral Centre": Ideologies of Genre in Butor, Fussell, and Raban', *Studies in Travel Writing* 4 (2000).
- Clifford, James, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988).
- Cocker, Mark, *Loneliness and Time: British Travel Writing in the Twentieth Century* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1994).
- Colls, Robert & Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London, New York and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986).

- Colville, J.R., *Fools' Pleasure: A Leisurely Journey down the Danube, to the Black Sea, the Greek Islands and Dalmatia* (London: Methuen, 1935).
- Connor, Steven, *Postmodernist Culture: An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1992).
- Conway, Agnes Edith, *A Ride through the Balkans: On Classic Ground with a Camera* (London: Robert Scott, 1917).
- Cook, Mark, *Promise of Hope* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994).
- Cook, Scott B., *Colonial Encounters in the Age of High Imperialism*, HarperCollins World History Series (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1996).
- Cotsell, Michael, ed., *Creditable Warriors, 1830-1876*, English Literature and the Wider World, Vol. 3 (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1990).
- Coulson, Anthony, ed., *Exiles and Migrants: Crossing Thresholds in European Culture and Society* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1997).
- Courtade, Pierre, *Albania: Travel Notebook and Documentary*, trans. Charles Ashleigh (London: Fore Publications, c.1952).
- Craciunas, Silviu, *The Lost Footsteps* (London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1961).
- Crampton, Richard J., *Bulgaria*, World Bibliographic Series, Vol. 107 (Oxford: Clio, 1989).
- -----
A Short History of Modern Bulgaria (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Craven, Elizabeth, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, rpt. ed., The Eastern Europe Collection (1789; New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970).
- Creagh, James, *Over the Borders of Christendom and Eslamiah: A Journey through Hungary, Slavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, to the North of Albania, in the Summer of 1875*, 2 Vols (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875-6).
- Creon, Katherine, *London Istanbul without Even a Screwdriver: Through Tito's Yugoslavia* (London: Minerva, 1993).

- Crosse, Andrew F., *Round about the Carpathians* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1878).
- Curtis, William Eleroy, *The Turk and His Lost Provinces: Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia* (Chicago, New York and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1903).
- Curran, Stuart, *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Cusack, Dymphna, *Illyria Reborn* (London: Heinemann, 1966).
- Cushman, Thomas & Stjepan Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1996).
- Cviić, Christopher, *Remaking the Balkans*, Chatham House Papers (London: Royal Institute International Affairs, 1991).
- Daković, Nevena, 'The Threshold of Europe: Imagining Yugoslavia in Film' (http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/CCAUCES/spacesofidentity/Vol_1/_HTML/Dakovic.html).
- Davies, Ellen Chivers, *A Farmer in Serbia* (London: Methuen, 1916).
When I Was a Boy in Serbia (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1920).
- Dawson, Graham, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Dawson, Peter & Andrea, *Albania: A Guide and Illustrated Journal* (Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.: Bradt, 1989).
- Day, Aidan, *Romanticism*, New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Dearmer, Mabel, *Letters from a Field Hospital* (London: Macmillan, 1916).
- de Asboth, J., *An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina: With an Account of the History, Antiquities, Agrarian Conditions, Religion, Ethnology, Folk Lore, and Social Life of the People* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1890).
- de Laveleye, Emile, *The Balkan Peninsula*, trans. Mrs Thorpe (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887).
- Deletant, Andrea & Dennis Deletant, *Romania*, World Bibliographic Series, Vol. 59 (Oxford: Clio, 1985).

- Dennis-Jones, Harold, *Where to Go in Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (1989; London: Settle Press, 1991).
- *Where to Go in Romania*, new ed. (1991; London: Settle Press, 1992).
- de Windt, Harry, *Through Savage Europe: Being the Narrative of a Journey throughout the Balkan States and European Russia*, new ed. (1907; London and Glasgow: Collins, c.1908).
- Dibble, L. Grace, *Return Tickets to Yugoslavia* (Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1984).
- di Giovanni, Janine, *The Quick and the Dead: Under Siege in Sarajevo* (London: Pheonix House, 1994).
- Dilke, Christopher, *The Road to Dalmatia, Highways to the Sun* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962).
- Dirlik, Arif, 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism', *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Winter 1994).
- Dizdarević, Zlatko, *Sarajevo: A War Journal*, trans. Anselm Hollo and Ammiel Alcalay (New York: Fromm International, 1993).
- Dodd, Philip, ed., *The Art of Travel: Essays on Travel Writing* (London: Frank Cass, 1982).
- Doyle, Brian, *English and Englishness, New Accents* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Drace-Francis, Alex, 'Sex, Lies and Stereotypes: Romania in British Literature since 1945', in George Cipăianu and Virgiliu Țârău, eds., *Romanian and British Historians on the Contemporary History of Romania* (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2000).
- Drakulić, Slavenka, *Balkan Express: Fragments from the Other Side of War* (London: Hutchinson, 1993).
- *Café Europa: Life After Communism* (London: Abacus, 1996).
- Drysdale, Helena, *Looking for George: Love and Death in Romania*, new ed. (1995; London and Basingstoke: Picador, 1996).
- Duncan, James & David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Duncan, James & Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Dunkin, Robert [Snaffle], | <i>In the Land of the Bora: Or, Camp Life and Sport in Dalmatia and the Herzegovina 1894-5-6</i> (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1897) |
| Durham, Mary Edith, | <i>Through the Lands of the Serb</i> (London: Edward Arnold, 1904). |
| ----- | <i>The Burden of the Balkans</i> (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1905). |
| ----- | <i>High Albania</i> , new ed. (1909; London: Virago, 1985). |
| ----- | <i>The Struggle for Scutari</i> (London: Edward Arnold, 1914). |
| ----- | <i>Twenty Years of the Balkan Tangle</i> (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1920). |
| ----- | <i>The Sarajevo Crime</i> (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925). |
| ----- | <i>Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans</i> (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1928). |
| ----- | <i>Albania and the Albanians: Selected Articles and Letters, 1903-1944</i> , ed. Bejtullah Destani (London: Centre for Albanian Studies, 2001). |
| Durrell, Lawrence, | <i>Esprit de Corps: Sketches from Diplomatic Life</i> , new ed. (1957; London: Faber and Faber, 1961). |
| ----- | <i>White Eagles over Serbia</i> , new ed. (1957; London: Faber and Faber, 1962). |
| ----- | <i>Prospero's Cell</i> , new ed. (1945; London: Faber and Faber, 1962). |
| Eagleton, Terry, | <i>Literary Theory: An Introduction</i> (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1983). |
| Easthope, Antony, | <i>Englishness and National Culture</i> (London and New York: Routledge, 1999). |
| Edmonds, Paul, | <i>To the Land of the Eagle: Travels in Montenegro and Albania</i> (London: Routledge; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1927). |
| Edwards, Lovett Fielding, | <i>Profane Pilgrimage: Wanderings through Yugoslavia</i> (London: Duckworth, 1938). |
| ----- | <i>A Wayfarer in Yugoslavia</i> (London: Methuen, 1939). |
| ----- | <i>Danube Stream</i> , new ed. (1940; London: Travel Book Club, 1941). |
| ----- | <i>Introducing Yugoslavia</i> (London: Methuen, 1954). |

- *Yugoslavia: People and Places* (London: David Harvey, c.1970).
- *The Yugoslav Coast* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1974).
- Eldridge, C.C., ed., *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century, Problems in Focus* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984).
- Eliot, Charles [Odysseus], *Turkey in Europe* (London: Edward Arnold, 1900).
- Eliot, T.S., 'The Wasteland', in Eliot, *Selected Poems*, new ed. (1954; London: Faber and Faber, 1961).
- 'Introduction' to Ezra Pound, *Selected Poems*, ed. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1928).
- 'Ulysses, Order and Myth', in Eliot, *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, ed. Frank Kermode (London: Faber and Faber, 1975).
- Ellison, Grace, *Yugoslavia: A New Country and Its People* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1933).
- Emerson, June, *Albania: The Search for the Eagle's Song* (Studley, Warwickshire: Brewin Books, 1990).
- Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, 'A Theory of Tourism', *New German Critique* 68 (Spring-Summer 1996).
- Etherton, P.T. & A. Dunscombe Allen, *Through Europe and the Balkans: The Record of a Motor Tour* (London: Cassell, 1928).
- Evans, Arthur J., *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection, August and September 1875: With an Historical Review of Bosnia and a Glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the Ancient Republic of Ragusa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1876).
- *Illyrian Letters: A Revised Selection of Correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, Addressed to the 'Manchester Guardian' during the Year 1877* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1878).
- Eysteinsson, Astradur, *The Concept of Modernism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- Fabian, Johannes, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*, new ed., trans. Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 1990).

- Faulkner, Peter, *Modernism, Critical Idiom* (London and New York: Routledge, 1977).
- Fermor, Patrick Leigh, *Between the Woods and the Water: On Foot to Constantinople from the Hook of Holland: The Middle Danube to the Iron Gates*, rpt. ed. (1986; London: Guild Publishing, 1987).
- Fife-Cookson, Lieut.-Colonel, *With the Armies of the Balkans and at Gallipoli in 1877-1878*, 2nd. ed. (1879; London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co., 1879).
- Filipović, Zlata, *Zlata's Diary*, trans. Christina Pribichevich-Zorić (London: Viking, 1994).
- Finnemore, John, *Foray and Fight: Being the Story of the Remarkable Adventures of an Englishman and an American in Macedonia* (London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers: 1906).
- Fokkema, Douwe, 'Orientalism, Occidentalism and the Notion of Discourse: Arguments for a New Cosmopolitanism', *Comparative Criticism* 18 (1996).
- Fokkema, Douwe & Elrud Ibsch, *Modernist Conjectures: A Mainstream in European Literature 1910-1940* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1987).
- Fonseca, Isabel, *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*, new ed. (1995; London: Vintage, 1996).
- Footman, David, *Balkan Holiday* (London: Heineman, 1935).
- Forman, Archibald, *Rumania through a Windscreen* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., c.1938).
- Forwood, William, *Romanian Invitation* (London: Garnstone Press, 1968).
- Foster, Hal, ed., *Postmodern Culture* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1989).
- Foster Fraser, John, *Pictures from the Balkans*, new ed. (1906; London and New York: Cassell and Co., 1912).
- Foucault, Michel, *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, new ed., trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971).
- , *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, new ed., trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (1969; London: Routledge, 1989).

- _____ *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, World of Man, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970).
- _____ *Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1973).
- _____ *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, new ed., trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; London: Penguin, 1991).
- _____ *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).
- _____ *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*, new ed., trans. Robert Hurley (1976; London: Penguin, 1990).
- _____ *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, new ed., ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, et al (1980; Harlow: Pearson Education, 1980).
- _____ *The Uses of Pleasure, History of Sexuality, Vol. 2*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1985).
- Fox, Frank, *Bulgaria* (London: A. and C. Black, 1915).
- Fukuyama, Francis, 'The End of History?', *The National Interest* (Summer 1989).
- Fussell, Paul, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- _____ *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, new ed. (1987; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Gadsby, John, *A Trip to Sebastopol, Out and Home, By Way of Vienna, the Danube, Odessa, Constantinople, and Athens. Together with Some Account of Russia and the Russians, Their Manners and Customs, Particulars and Incidents of the War, Anecdotes, etc.*, 2nd ed. (1858; London: Gadsby, 1858).
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, *Journey to Poland and Yugoslavia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).
- Gardiner, Leslie, *Curtain Calls: Travels in Albania, Romania and Bulgaria* (London: Duckworth, 1976).
- Garnett, Lucy M.J., *Balkan Home-Life* (London: Methuen, 1917).
- Garton Ash, Timothy, *The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe* (Cambridge and London: Granta/Penguin, 1989).

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| ----- | <i>We the People: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague</i> (Cambridge and London: Granta/Penguin, 1990). |
| ----- | 'Anarchy and Madness', <i>The New York Review of Books</i> (February 10, 2000). |
| ----- | 'Kosovo: Was It Worth It?', <i>The New York Review of Books</i> (September 21, 2000). |
| Gatrell, Simon, ed., | <i>The Ends of the Earth, 1876-1918</i> , English Literature and the Wider World, Vol. 4 (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1992). |
| Gellner, Ernest, | <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> , New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983). |
| Gemunden, Gerd, | 'Introduction to Enzensberger's "A Theory of Tourism"', <i>New German Critique</i> 68 (Spring-Summer 1996). |
| Gibbons, John, | <i>London to Sarajevo</i> (London: George Newnes, c.1931). |
| Gidley, Mark, ed., | <i>Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples</i> , Exeter Studies in American and Commonwealth Arts, No. 4 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992). |
| Gill, Anton, | <i>Berlin to Bucharest: Travels in Eastern Europe</i> (London: Grafton, 1990). |
| Gioia, Iris &
Clifford Thurlow, | <i>Brief Spring: A Journey through Eastern Europe</i> (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992). |
| Glazebrook, Philip, | <i>Journey to Kars</i> (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1984). |
| Glenny, Misha, | <i>The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy</i> (London: Penguin, 1990). |
| ----- | <i>The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War</i> , 3rd. ed. (1992; London: Penguin, 1996). |
| ----- | <i>The Balkans 1804-1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers</i> (London: Granta Books, 1999). |
| Goff, A. &
Hugh A. Fawcett, | <i>Macedonia: A Plea for the Primitive</i> (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1921). |
| Goldring, Douglas, | <i>Dream Cities: Notes of an Autumn Tour in Italy and Dalmatia</i> (London and Leipsic: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913). |
| Goldsworthy, Vesna, | <i>Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination</i> (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998). |
| ----- | 'Diary', <i>London Review of Books</i> (17 February 2000). |

- Goody, Jack, *Representations and Contradictions: Ambivalence towards Images, Theatre, Fiction, Relics and Sexuality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).
- Gordon, Winifred, *A Woman in the Balkans* (London: Hutchinson, 1916).
- Gordon, Jan, *A Balkan Freebooter: Being the True Exploits of the Serbian Outlaw and Comitaj Petko Moritch, Told by Him to the Author and Set into English* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1916).
- Gordon, Jan &
Cora J. Gordon, *The Luck of Thirteen: Wanderings and Flight through Montenegro and Serbia* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1916).
- -----
Two Vagabonds in the Balkans (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1925).
- Two Vagabonds in Albania* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head; New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1927).
- Gow, James, *Yugoslav Endgames: Civil Strife and Inter-State Conflict*, Centre for Defence Studies (Oxford: Nuffield Press, 1991).
- *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London: Hurst and Company, 1997).
- Graham, Stephen, *The Moving Tent: Adventures with a Tent and Fishing-Rod in Southern Jugoslavia* (London: Cassell, 1939).
- Grant, Damian, *Realism, The Critical Idiom* (London: Methuen, 1970).
- Graves, Robert, *Storm Centres of the Near East: Personal Memories 1879-1929* (London: Hutchinson, 1933).
- Green, Martin, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979).
- Grewal, Inderpal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).
- Grey, Anthony, *The Bulgarian Exclusive*, new ed. (1976; London: Sphere Books, 1978).
- Gunther, John, *Behind Europe's Curtain* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949).
- *Inside Europe Today*, rev. ed. (1961; London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962).

- Gutman, Roy, *A Witness to Genocide: The First Inside Account of the Horrors of 'Ethnic Cleansing' in Bosnia* (Shaftesbury, Rockport and Brisbane: Element, 1993).
- Haggerty, John, *Letters from a Nobody* (London: Minerva, 1995).
- Hall, Brian, *Stealing from a Deep Place: Travels in South-Eastern Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1988).
- *The Impossible Country: A Journey through the Last Days of Yugoslavia*, new ed. (1994; London: Minerva, 1996).
- Hall, D.J., *Romanian Furrow* (London: Methuen, 1933).
- Hall, Stuart & Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 1996).
- Hall, Stuart, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, Cultural, Media and Identities* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage/The Open University, 1997).
- Hamilton, Bill & Bhasker Solanki, *Albania: Who Cares?* (Grantham: Autumn House, 1992).
- Hammond, Andrew, 'An Inflexible Exile: Preserving the Self in South-East Europe', in Sharon Ouditt, ed., *Displaced Persons: Conditions of Exile in European Culture*, Studies in European Cultural Transition (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
- Hampson, Norman, *The Enlightenment*, new ed. (1968; London: Penguin, 1990).
- Harding, Georgina, *In Another Europe: A Journey to Romania*, new ed. (1990; London: Sceptre, 1991).
- Harris, Paul, *Cry Bosnia* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995).
- Harrison, John, 'Travellers' Tales', *New Welsh Review* 47 (Winter 1999-2000).
- Haskell, Arnold L., *Heroes and Roses: A View of Bulgaria* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966).
- Hawks, Tony, *Playing the Moldovans at Tennis* (London: Ebury Press, 2000).
- Hemmings, F.W.J., ed., *The Age of Realism* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978).

- Henderson, Percy E., *A British Officer in the Balkans: The Account of a Journey through Dalmatia, Montenegro, Turkey in Austria, Magyarland, Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Seeley and Co., 1909).
- Herbert, Aubrey, *Ben Kendim: A Record of Eastern Travel*, ed. Desmond MacCarthy (London: Hutchinson, 1924).
- Herbert, Frederick
William von, *By-Paths in the Balkans* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1906).
- Heseltine, Nigel, *Scarred Background: A Journey through Albania* (London: Lovat Dickson, 1938).
- Hichens, Robert, *The Near East: Dalmatia, Greece and Constantinople* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913).
- Higgins, John, *Travels in the Balkans* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972).
- Hill, John Spencer, ed., *The Romantic Imagination*, Casebook Series (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977).
- Hillis Miller, J., *Topographies, Meridian Crossing Aesthetics* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, new ed. (1987; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995).
- Hoffman, Eva, *Exit into History: A Journey through the New Eastern Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1993).
- Hodgetts, E.A. Brayley, *Round About Armenia: The Record of a Journey across the Balkans through Turkey, the Caucasus, and Persia in 1895* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896).
- Holbach, Maude M., *Dalmatia: The Land where East Meets West*, 3rd ed. (1907; London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1910).
- *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Some Wayside Wanderings* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1910).
- Holden, Philip, 'Dissonant Voices: Straits Chinese Appropriation of Colonial Travel Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (Spring 1998).
- Holderness, Graham, *Women in Love* (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986).

- Holland, Patrick & Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).
- Hope, Anthony, *The Prisoner of Zenda*, new ed. (1894; London: J.M. Dent, 1977).
- Hoppé, E.O., *In Gipsy Camp and Royal Palace: Wanderings in Rumania* (London: Methuen, 1924).
- Horton, John J., *Yugoslavia*, rev. ed., World Bibliographic Series, Vol. 1 (1978; Oxford: Clio, 1990).
- Hösch, Edgar, *The Balkans: A Short History from Greek Times to the Present Day*, trans. Tania Alexander (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).
- Hukanović, Rezak, *The Tenth Circle of Hell: A Memoir of Life in the Death Camps of Bosnia*, new ed., trans. Colleen London and Midhat Ridjanović (1993; London: Little, Brown and Co., 1997).
- Hulme, Peter, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986).
- Hulme-Beaman, Ardern G., *Twenty Years in the Near East* (London: Methuen, 1898).
- Huntington, Samuel P., 'The Clash of Civilisations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72, No. 3 (Summer 1993).
- Hutcheon, Linda, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989).
- Hutchinson, Frances Kinsley, *Motoring in the Balkans along the Highways of Dalmatia, Montenegro, the Herzegovina and Bosnia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910).
- Huxley, Aldous, *Point Counter Point*, new ed. (1928; St. Albans and London: Granada, 1978).
- , *Do What You Will* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1929).
- Hynes, Samuel, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s*, new ed. (1976; London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979).
- Ignatieff, Michael, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, new ed. (1993; London: Vintage, 1994).
- Inglis, Fred, *The Cruel Peace: Everyday Life in the Cold War* (London: Aurum Press, 1992).

- Iordanova, Dina, 'Media Coverage of Bulgaria in the West and Its Domestic Use' in Fred L. Casmir, ed., *Communication in Eastern Europe: The Role of History, Culture, and Media in Contemporary Conflicts*, LEA's Communication Series (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995).
- 'Conceptualizing the Balkans in Film', *Slavic Review* 55, No. 4 (Winter 1996).
- 'America as *Gurbet*: The Litanies of a Repentant Emigre or Kolyo Nikolov's Writings on the US', *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* 7 (1998).
- 'Balkan Film Representation since 1989: The Quest for Admissibility', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 18, No. 2 (1998).
- 'Political Resentment versus Cultural Submission: The Duality of U.S. Representations in Bulgarian Media', in Yahya R. Kamalipour, ed., *Images of the U.S. around the World: A Multi-Cultural Perspective* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).
- *Cinema of Flames: Balkan Film, Culture and the Media* (London: British Film Institute, 2001).
- 'Shifting Narratives: Representation and Mediation of the Balkan Conflicts' *Journal of Communication* (forthcoming).
- Islam, Syed Manzurul, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996).
- Jackson, F. Hamilton, *The Shores of the Adriatic, the Austrian Side: The Küstenlande, Istria, and Dalmatia* (London: John Murray, 1908).
- James, Jeremy, *Vagabond* (London: Pelham Books, 1991).
- James, Paul, *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community, Politics and Culture* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 1996).
- Jameson, Frederic, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, new ed. (1981; London: Methuen, 1983).

- 'Cognitive Mapping', in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).
- *Postmodernism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).
- *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern: 1983-1998* (London and New York: Verso, 1998).
- JanMohamed, Abdul R., *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa*, new ed. (1983; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
- 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985).
- Jelavich, Barbara, 'The British Traveller in the Balkans: The Abuses of Ottoman Administration in the Slavonic Provinces', *Slavonic and East European Review* 33, No. 81 (June 1955).
- *History of the Balkans, Vol. 2: Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Joad, C.E.M., *Decadence: A Philosophical Inquiry* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948).
- Johnson, Stowers, *Gay Bulgaria* (London: Robert Hale, 1964).
- *Yugoslav Summer* (London: Robert Hale, 1967).
- Jones, Edwin, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998).
- Jones, Fortier, *With Serbia into Exile: An American's Adventures with the Army that Cannot Die* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1916).
- Jones, Lloyd, *Biografi: An Albanian Quest* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1993).
- Joyce, James, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, rpt. ed. (1916; St Albans and London: Granada, 1977).
- Kabbani, Rana, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, new ed. (1986; London: Pandora, 1994).
- Kaldor, Mary, *The Imaginary War: Understanding the East-West Conflict* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Basil Blackwell, 1990).
- Kaplan, Caren, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement, Post-Contemporary Interventions* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

- Kaplan, Robert D., *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*, new ed. (1993; London and Basingstoke: Papermac, 1994).
- Keeley, Edmund, *Albanian Journal: The Road to Elbasan* (Fredonia, New York: White Wine Press, 1997).
- Kennedy, A.L., *Old Diplomacy and New 1876-1922: From Salisbury to Lloyd-George* (London: John Murray, 1922).
- Kern, Stephen, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).
- Kiernan, V.G., *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse, 1815-1960*, Fontana History of European War and Society (London: Fontana, 1982).
- *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Empire*, new ed. (1969; London: The Cresset Library, 1988).
- Kimbrough, Emily, *Water, Water Everywhere* (Melbourne, London and Toronto: Heinemann, 1957).
- Kindersley, Anne, *The Mountains of Serbia: Travels through Inland Yugoslavia*, rpt. ed. (1976; Newton Abbot: Readers Union, 1977).
- Kinglake, A.W., *Eothen*, new ed., The Chiltern Library (1844; London: John Lehmann, 1948).
- Kitchen, Martin, *The British Empire and Commonwealth: A Short History* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Knight, E. F., *Albania: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Sampson Low, Marsden, Searle, and Rivington, 1880).
- Koester, Hans, *Jugoslavia: Land of Promise* (London: Robert Hale, 1937).
- Kostova, Ludmilla, 'Inventing Post-Wall Europe: Visions of the 'Old' Continent in Contemporary British Fiction and Drama', in Andy Hollis, ed., *Beyond Boundaries: Textual Representations of European Identity*, Yearbook of European Studies 15 (Amstersam/Atlanta: Editions Rodopi, 2000).
- *Tales of the Periphery: The Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Writing* (Veliko Turnovo: St. Cyril and St. Methodius University Press, 1997).
- Kowalewski, Michael, ed., *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens, Georgia and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992).

- Krippner, Monica,

Yugoslavia Invites (London: Hutchinson, 1954).
The Quality of Mercy: Women at War, Serbia 1915-18
(Newton Abbot, London: David and Charles, 1980).
- Kristeva, Julia,
Strangers to Ourselves, trans. Leon S. Roudiez
(Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
- Kuhiwczak, Piotr,
'How Postcolonial is Post-Communist Translation?'
(unpublished essay).
- Kuhn, T.S.,
The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1962).
- Lampe, John R. &
Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial
Borderlands to Developing Nations* (Bloomington: Indiana
University Press, 1982).
- Lane, Rose Wilder, *The Peaks of Shala: Being a Record of Certain Wanderings
among the Hill-Tribes of Albania* (London and Sydney:
Chapman and Dodd, 1922).
- Lane, Rose Wilder &
Helen Dore Boylston, *Travels with Zenobia: Paris to Albania by Model T Ford*,
ed., William Holtz (Columbia and London: University of
Missouri Press, 1983).
- Lavrin, Nora,
Lawrence D.H.,

Jugoslav Scenes (London: Stanley Nott, 1935).
Women in Love, rpt. ed. (1921; London: Heinemann, 1954).
The Plumed Serpent, new ed. (1926; Harmondsworth:
Penguin, 1950).
- Lawrence, Karen R., *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British
Literary Tradition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University
Press, 1994).
- Lazarus, Neil, *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial
World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Lear, Edward,

Journals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania,
new ed. (1851; London: Century, 1988).
*Edward Lear in the Levant: Travels in Albania, Greece and
Turkey in Europe, 1848-1849*, ed. Susan Hyman (London:
John Murray, 1988).
- Lehmann, John,

Down River: A Danubian Study (London: The Cresset
Press, 1939).
Edward Lear and His World (London: Thames and
Hudson, 1977).

- Levenson, Michael, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Levin, Harry, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (London: Faber and Faber, 1944).
- le Queux, William [Anon], *An Observer in the Near East* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907).
- Lešić, Zdenko, ed., *Children of Atlantis: Voices from the Former Yugoslavia*, trans. Christina Pribicevic-Zorić (Budapest, London and New York: Central European University Press, 1995).
- Leslie, Henrietta, *Where East is West: Life in Bulgaria* (London: Jarrolds, 1933).
- Lodge, Olive, *Peasant Life in Yugoslavia* (London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1942).
- Longworth, Philip, *The Making of Eastern Europe: From Prehistory to Postcommunism*, 2nd. ed. (1992; Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997).
- Loomba, Ania, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Loughborough, Margaret R., *Roumanian Pilgrimage* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939).
- Lovejoy, Arthur O.
& George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, rpt. ed. (1935; Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- Lowe, Lisa, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).
- Loyd, Anthony, *My War Gone By, I Miss It So*, new ed. (1999; London: Anchor, 2000).
- Lukacs, John A., *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (New York: American Book Company, 1953).
- , *A History of the Cold War* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961).
- Lyall, Archibald, *The Balkan Road* (London: Methuen, 1930).
- Lyotard, Jean-François, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Theory and History of Literature, Vol. 10, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

- Maass, Peter,** *Love Thy Neighbour: A Story of War*, new ed. (1996; London and Basingstoke: Papermac, 1996).
- MacCannell, Dean** *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, new ed. (1976; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
- Macfie, A.L.,** *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923*, Seminar Studies in History (London and New York: Longman, 1989).
- Macfie, Robert Andrew**
 Scott [Andreas], *With Gypsies in Bulgaria* (Liverpool: Henry Young and Sons, 1916).
- MacKenzie, Andrew,** *Romanian Journey* (London: Robert Hale, 1983).
- Mackenzie, G. Muir**
 & A.P. Irby, *Across the Carpathians* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1862).
- *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, 5th. ed., 2 Vols. (1866; London: Daldy, Isbister and Co., 1877).
- Mackintosh, May,** *Rumania* (London: Robert Hale, 1963).
- Maclean, Fitzroy,** *Eastern Approaches* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949).
- Maclean, Rory,** *Stalin's Nose: Across the Face of Europe*, new ed. (1992; London: Flamingo, 1993).
- Magris, Claudio,** *Danube: A Sentimental Journey from the Source to the Black Sea*, new ed., trans. Patrick Creagh (1986; London: Collins Harvill, 1990).
- Mahood, M.M.,** *The Colonial Encounter: A Reading of Six Novels* (London: Rex Collings, 1977).
- Malcolm, Noel,** *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: Papermac, 1994).
- Malcomson, Scott L.,** *Empire's Edge: Travels in South-Eastern Europe, Turkey and Central Asia* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994).
- Manning, Olivia,** *The Balkan Trilogy: The Great Fortune; The Spoilt City; Friends and Heroes*, new ed. (1960-65; London: Penguin, 1987).
- Marcus, Laura,** *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- Marie, Queen of Roumania,** *The Country That I Love: An Exile's Memories* (London: Duckworth, 1925).
- *The Story of My Life*, 3 Vols. (London: Cassell, 1935).

- Markovich, Slobodan G., *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans, 1903-1906* (Paris: Dialogue, 2000).
- Marsden-Smedley, Philip,
& Jeffrey Klinke, eds., *Views from Abroad: The Spectator Book of Travel Writing*, new ed. (1988; London: Paladin Grafton, 1989).
- Matthews, Caroline, *Experiences of a Woman Doctor in Serbia* (London: Mills and Boon, 1916).
- Matthews, Ronald, *Sons of the Eagle: Wanderings in Albania* (London: Methuen, 1937).
- Mazower, Mark, *The Balkans* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000).
- McHale, Brian, *Postmodernist Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987).
- McVeagh, John, ed., *All Before Them, 1660-1780, English Literature and the Wider World, Vol 1.* (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1990).
- Medhurst, Martin J.,
Robert L. Ivie, Philip
Wander, Robert L. Scott, *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology, Study of Mass Media and Communication* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).
- Medlicott, W.N., *The Congress of Berlin and After* (London: Methuen, 1938).
- Melchett, Sonia, *Passionate Quests: Five Modern Women Travellers* (London: Heinemann, 1991).
- Merquior, J.G., *Foucault*, 2nd ed., *Modern Masters* (1985; London: Fontana, 1991).
- Meštrović, Stjepan G., *The Balkanisation of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Middleton, Dorothy, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).
- Miles, Robert, *Racism, Key Ideas* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Miller, William, *Travels and Politics in the Near East* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898).
- Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).

- Minchin, James
George Cotton, *The Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula: Notes of a Traveller in Montenegro, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. With Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the People* (London: John Murray, 1886).
- Minow-Pinkney, Makiko, *Virginia Woolf and the Problem of the Subject* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987).
- Mitchell, Tony, 'Caryl Churchill's *Mad Forest*: Polyphonic Representations of Southeastern Europe', *Modern Drama*, XXXVI, No. 4 (1993).
- Montagu, Mary Wortley, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M...Y W...y M....e; Written, during her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to Persons of Distinction, Men of Letters, etc. in Different Parts of Europe. Which Contain, Among Other Curious Relations, Accounts of the Policy and Manners of the Turks, Drawn from Sources that Have Been Inaccessible to Other Travellers* (London: S. Payne, A. Cook, and H. Hill, 1767).
- Moore, Arthur, *The Orient Express* (London: Constable, 1914).
- Moore, Frederick, *The Balkan Trial* [sic], rpt. ed., The Eastern Europe Collection (1906; New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971).
- Moore-Gilbert, Bart,
Gareth Stanton &
Willy Maley, eds., *Postcolonial Criticism*, Longman Critical Readers (London and New York: Longman, 1997).
- More, Robert Jasper, *Under the Balkans. Notes of a Visit to the District of Philippopolis in 1876* (London: Henry S. King, 1877).
- Morgan, Peter, *A Barrel of Stones: In Search of Serbia* (Aberystwyth: Planet, 1997).
- Motte, Nel & Peter, *Balkan Roads to Istanbul* (London: Robert Hale, 1960).
- Mountfort, Guy, *Portrait of a River: The Wildlife of the Danube, from the Black Sea to Budapest* (London: Hutchinson, 1962).
- Mueller, Andrew, *Rock and Hard Places* (London: Virgin, 1999).

- Munro, Robert, *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia with an Account of the Proceedings of the Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists Held at Sarajevo, August 1894* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1895).
- Murphy, Dervla, *Transylvania and Beyond*, new ed. (1992; London: Arrow, 1993).
- Nalbantian, Suzanne, *Seeds of Decadence in the Late Nineteenth-Century Novel: A Crisis in Values* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983).
- Napier, H.D., *The Experiences of a Military Attaché in the Balkans* (London: Drane's, c.1924).
- Neale, J.M., *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a Visit to Montenegro* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1861).
- Nevinson, Henry W., *Fire of Life* (London: James Nisbet/Victor Gollancz, 1935).
- Newby, Eric, *On the Shores of the Mediterranean*, new ed. (1984; London: Picador, 1985).
- Newman, Bernard, *Albanian Back-door* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1936).
- *Albanian Journey*, Pitman's Travel Series (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, c.1938).
- *Mediterranean Background*, new ed. (1949; London: Travel Book Club, 1950).
- *Tito's Yugoslavia*, rpt. ed. (1952; London: Travel Book Club, c.1952).
- *Bulgarian Background*, rpt. ed. (1961; London: Travel Book Club, 1961).
- Nicholls, Peter, *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1995).
- Noakes, Vivien, *Edward Lear: The Life of a Wanderer* (London: Collins, 1968).
- Norris, David A., *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999).
- O'Brien, Patrick, *Journal of a Residence in the Danubian Principalities, in the Autumn and Winter of 1853* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854).
- O'Doneven, Captain, *A Skillet of the Balkans* (Lymington: Charles T. King, 1932).

- O'Connor, Peter, *Walking Good: Travels to Music in Romania and Hungary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).
- O'Farrell, Clare, *Foucault: Historian or Philosopher?* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989).
- Okey, Robin, 'Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the Definitions', *Past and Present*, No. 137 (Nov. 1992).
- *Eastern Europe, 1740-1985: Feudalism to Communism*, 2nd. ed. (1982; London and New York: Routledge, 1986).
- Orel, Harold, *The Literary Achievement of Rebecca West* (London: Macmillan, 1986).
- Orr, Dorothea, *Portrait of a People: Croatia Today* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1936).
- Outram, Dorinda, *The Enlightenment, New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Ozanne, J.W., *Three Years in Roumania* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878).
- Paget, Lady Leila, *With Our Serbian Allies: Second Report* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1916).
- Pakula, Hannah, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985).
- Parker, Peter, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* (London: Constable, 1987).
- Parkinson, Maude, *Twenty Years in Roumania* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921).
- Patmore, Derek, *Invitation to Romania* (London: Macmillan, 1939).
- Paton, A.A., *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic; Or, Contributions to the Modern History of Hungary and Transylvania, Dalmatia and Croatia, Serbia and Bulgaria*, 2 Vols. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1861).
- Patrides, C.A., ed., *Aspects of Time* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976).
- Paxman, Jeremy, *The English: A Portrait of a People*, new ed. (1998; London: Penguin, 1999).
- Papastergiadis, Nikos, *Modernity as Exile: The Stranger in John Berger's Writing* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993).

- Pavlowitch, Stevan K., *A History of the Balkans, 1804-1945* (London and New York: Longman, 1999).
- Peacock, Wadham, *Albania: The Foundling State of Europe* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1914).
- Pearson, Emma Maria
& Louisa Elizabeth
McLaughlin, *Service in Serbia under the Red Cross* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1877).
- Pearson, Keith Ansell,
Benita Parry, Judith
Squires, eds., *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997).
- Pearson, M.N., "‘Objects Ridiculous and August’: Early Modern European Perceptions of Asia’, *Journal of Modern History*, 68, No. 2 (June 1996).
- Peberdy, Beverly,
Phillimore, Lion,
Phillips, Jerry,
Do Robins Cough? new ed. (1996; London: Orion, 1997).
In the Carpathians (London: Constable, 1912).
‘Into the Melting Pot: Utopian and Dystopian Themes in Edmund White’s Travels in Gay America’, *Studies in Travel Writing* 1 (Spring 1997).
- Phillips, Richard, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Pinter, Harold,
Porter, Bernard,
—————
‘The NATO Action in Serbia’, *The Spokesman* 65 (1999).
Britain, Europe and the World 1850-1982: Delusions of Grandeur (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983).
The Lion’s Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1983, 2nd. ed. (1975; London and New York: Longman, 1984).
- Porter, Dennis, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- ‘Orientalism and Its Problems’, in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
- Porter, Roy, *The Enlightenment*, Studies in European History (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1990).

- Porter, Roy, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Portway, Christopher, *Double Circuit* (London: Robert Hale, 1974).
- Poulton, Hugh, *The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict*, 2nd. ed. (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1993).
- Pratt, Mary Louise, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985).
- , *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Price, M. Philips, *Through the Iron-Laced Curtain: A Record of a Journey through the Balkans in 1946* (London: Sampson Low, 1949).
- Prickett, Steven, ed., *The Romantics, The Context of English Literature* (London: Methuen, 1981).
- Pride, Una, *What Do I Know About Bulgaria?* (London: Minerva, 1995).
- Rady, Martyn, *Romania in Turmoil: A Contemporary History* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris and Co., 1992).
- Raimond, Jean & J.R. Watson, eds., *A Handbook to English Romanticism* (Basingstoke and London: St Martin's Press/Macmillan, 1992).
- Raitt, Suzanne, *Vita and Virginia: The Work and Friendship of V. Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Rajchman, John, *Michel Foucault: The Freedom of Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
- Rawlinson, Mark, *British Writing of the Second World War*, Oxford English Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
- Rawnsley, Gary D., ed., *Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Rayner, Louisa, *Women in a Village: An Englishwoman's Experiences and Impressions of Life in Yugoslavia under German Occupation* (London: Heinemann, 1957).
- Rddad, Sadik, 'Agency Relocated: Hybridity and Resistance in some British Travel Accounts on Morocco', *Studies in Travel Writing* 3 (1999).

- Reed, John, *The War in Eastern Europe: Travels through the Balkans in 1915*, new ed. (1916; London: Phoenix, 1994).
- Reed, Douglas, *Disgrace Abounding* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939).
- Rennie, Neil, *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas*, new ed. (1995; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Rhodes, Geoffrey, *Dalmatia: The New Riviera* (London: Stanley Paul, 1931).
- Rhodes, Anthony, *The Dalmatian Coast* (London: Evans Brothers, 1955).
- Rice, Philip, & Patricia Waugh, eds., *Modern Literary Theory: A Reader*, 2nd. ed. (1989; London: Edward Arnold, 1992).
- Rieff, David, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West*, new ed. (1995; London: Vintage, 1995).
- Rignall, John, 'Benjamin's Flaneur and the Problem of Realism', in Andrew Benjamin, ed., *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Rimmer, Dave, *Once Upon a Time in the East* (London: Fourth Estate, 1992).
- Robertson, George,
Melinda, Mash, Lisa
Tickner Jon Bird, Barry
Curtis, Tim Putnam, eds., *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement, Futures: New Perspectives for Cultural Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Robinson, Jane, ed., *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Rosslyn, Felicity, 'Balkan Affairs', *The Cambridge Quarterly* XXV (Spring 1996).
- R.H.R., *Rambles in Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1875).
- Russell, Alec, *Prejudice and Plum Brandy: Tales of a Balkan Stringer* (London: Michael Joseph, 1993).
- Rutherford, Anna, ed., *From Commonwealth to Post-Colonial* (Sydney: Dangaroo Press, 1992).
- Rutherford, Jonathan, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997).

- Ryalls, Alan, *Bulgaria for Tourists* (Havant, Hamps.: Kenneth Mason, 1971).
- Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, new ed. (1978; London: Penguin, 1995).
 ——— 'Reflections on Exile', *Granta* 13 (1984).
 ——— *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993).
- Sandes, Flora, *An English Woman-Sergeant in the Serbian Army* (London, New York and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916).
 ——— *The Autobiography of a Woman Soldier: A Brief Record of Adventure with the Serbian Army, 1916-1919* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, c.1927).
- Sava, George, *Donkey Serenade: Travels in Bulgaria*, rpt. ed. (1940; London: Travel Book Club, 1941).
- Scott-Stokes, Natascha, *The Amber Trail: A Journey of Discovery by Bicycle, from the Baltic Sea to the Aegean*, new ed. (1993; London: Phoenix, 1994).
- Selbourne, David, *Death of the Dark Hero: Eastern Europe, 1987-90* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1990).
- Sherer, Stan & Marjorie Senechal, *Long Life to Your Children! A Portrait of High Albania* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997).
- Siebers, Tobin, *Cold War Criticism and the Politics of Skepticism*, Odeon (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Silber, Laura & Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (1995; London: Penguin Books/BBC Books, 1996).
- Simkins, Joan, *Ceausescu's [sic] Children: The Amazing Story of One Woman's Mission to Romanian Orphans* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1998).
- Simon, Ted, *The Gypsy in Me: Crossing Eastern Europe in Search of Youth, Truth and Dad* (London: Viking, 1997).
- Simpson, John, *Strange Places, Questionable People*, new ed. (1998; London: Pan Books, 1999).
- Sitwell, Sacheverell, *Roumanian Journey*, new ed. (1938; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Smiley, David, *Albanian Assignment*, new ed. (1984; London and Sydney: Sphere Books, 1985).

- Smith, Arthur D. Howden, *Fighting the Turk in the Balkans: An American's Adventures with the Macedonian Revolutionists* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908).
- Smith, Becky, *Bulgarian Diary* (Pulborough: Praxis Books, c.1995).
- Softić, Elma, *Sarajevo Days, Sarajevo Nights*, trans. Nada Conić (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1995).
- Sommelius, Torgny, *The Iron Gate of Illyria*, trans. Naomi Walford (New York: Roy Publishers, c.1955).
- Spaull, Hebe, *Rumania, Peeps at Many Lands* (London: A. and C. Black, 1930).
- Spiering, M., *Englishness: Foreigners and Images of National Identity in Postwar Literature*, Comparative Literature and European Diversity (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992).
- Sprinker, Michael, ed., *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1992).
- Spurr, David, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993).
- Stanley, Monica M., *My Diary in Serbia, April 1, 1915-Nov. 1, 1915* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1916).
- Starkie, Walter, *Raggle-Taggle: Adventures with a Fiddle in Hungary and Roumania*, new ed. (1933; London: John Murray, 1935).
- St. Clair, S.G.B. & Charles A. Brophy, *A Residence in Bulgaria; Or, Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey: The Condition and Character, Manners, Customs, and Language of the Christian and Mussulman Populations, with Reference to the Eastern Question* (London: John Murray, 1869).
- Stebbing, E.P., *At the Serbian Front in Macedonia* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane, 1917).
- Stevenson, Randall, *Modernist Fiction: An Introduction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992).
- Steward, Jill, 'The 'Travel Romance' and the Emergence of the Female Tourist', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (Spring 1998).
- Stillman, W.J., *Herzegovina and the Late Uprising: The Causes of the Latter and the Remedies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877).

- St. John, Robert, *From the Land of the Silent People* (London: George G. Harrap, 1942).
- St. John, Michael, ed., *Romancing Decay: Ideas of Decadence in European Culture*, Studies in European Cultural Transition, Vol. 3 (Aldershot and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, 1999).
- Stobart, Mabel St. Clair, *The Flaming Sword in Serbia and Elsewhere* (London, New York and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916).
- *Miracles and Adventures: An Autobiography* (London: Rider and Co., 1935).
- Stoker, Bram, *Dracula*, new ed. (1897; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Strangford, Emily
Anne Beaufort, *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863. With a Visit to Montenegro* (London: Richard Bentley, 1864).
- *Report on the Bulgarian Peasant Relief Fund, with a Statement of Distribution and Expenditure* (London: Hardwicke and Bogue, 1877).
- Stray, Christopher, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Streeter, Edward, *Along the Ridge: From Northwestern Spain to Southern Yugoslavia* (New York, Evanston and London: Harper and Row, 1964).
- Sturrock, John, ed., *Structuralism and Since: From Lévi Strauss to Derrida*, Opus (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin, ed., *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998).
- Swain, Geoffrey &
Nigel Swain, *Eastern Europe since 1945, The Making of the Modern World* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993).
- Swire, J., *King Zog's Albania* (London: Robert Hale, 1937).
- Tanner, Tony, *City of Words: American Fiction 1950-1970* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).
- Tempest, Clive, 'Myths from Eastern Europe and the Legend of the West', *Democratization* 4, No. 1 (1997).
- Tennyson, Hallam, *Tito Lifts the Curtain: The Story of Yugoslavia Today* (London: Rider and Co., 1955).

- Terdiman, Richard,** *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985).
- Tester Keith, ed.,** *The Flâneur* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Thayer, Charles,** *Hands across the Caviar* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953).
- Theroux, Paul,** *The Pillars of Hercules: A Grand Tour of the Mediterranean*, new ed. (1995; London: Penguin, 1996).
-
- Thomas, Nicholas,** *Sunrise with Seamonsters*, new ed. (1985; Penguin: London, 1986).
- Thomas, Nicholas,** *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).
- Thornton, Philip,** *Dead Puppets Dance* (London: Collins, 1937).
-
- Thornton, R.K.R.,** *Ikons and Oxen* (London: Collins, 1939).
- Thurnham, Sophie,** *The Decadent Dilemma* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).
- Tilman, H.W.,** *Sophie's Journey: The Story of an Aid Worker in Romania* (London: Warner, 1994).
- Todorova, Maria,** *When Men and Mountains Meet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946).
-
- Todorova, Maria,** 'The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention', *Slavic Review* 53, No. 2 (Summer 1994).
- Too, Yun Lee &** *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Niall Livingstone,** *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetoric of Classical Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Tornquist, David,** *Look East, Look West: The Socialist Adventure in Yugoslavia* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1966).
- Tozer, Henry Fanshawe,** *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey; Including Visits to Mounts Ida, Athos, Olympus, and Pelion, to the Mirdite Albanians, and other Remote Tribes. With Notes on the Ballads, Tales, and Classical Superstitions of the Modern Greeks*, 2 Vols., (London: John Murray, 1869).
- Trench, Sally,** *Fran's War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999).

- Trevor, Roy, *My Balkan Tour: An Account of Some Journeyings and Adventures in the Near East together with a Descriptive and Historical Account of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and the Kingdom of Montenegro* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1911).
-
- Turner, Bryan S., *Montenegro: A Land of Warriors, Peeps at Many Lands* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1913).
- Turner, Bryan S., *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Tyndale, Walter & Horatio F. Brown, *Dalmatia, Black's Popular Series of Colour Books* (London: A. and C. Black, 1925).
- Ugrešić, Dubravka, *Have a Nice Day: From the Balkan War to the American Dream*, trans. Celia Hawkesworth (London: Jonathan Cape, 1994).
- Upward, Allen, *The East End of Europe: The Report of an Unofficial Mission to the European Provinces of Turkey on the Eve of the Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1908).
- Urry, John, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies, Theory, Culture and Society* (London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage, 1990).
- Verdery, Katherine, *National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania, Societies and Culture in East-Central Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- Vickers, Miranda, *The Albanians: A Modern History* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris and Co., 1995).
- Vivian, Herbert, *Servia: The Poor Man's Paradise* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897).
-
- Macedonia, *The Servian Tragedy: With Some Impressions of* (London: Grant Richards, 1904).
- von Martels, Zweder, ed., *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994).
- Vulliamy, Ed, *Seasons in Hell: Understanding Bosnia's War* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1994).

‘Tragic Cost of Allies’ Hidden Hostility’, *Guardian*, 21 May 1996.

Wace, A.J.B. &

M.S. Thompson,

The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus (London: Methuen, 1914).

Walker, Mary Adelaide,

Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864).

Untrodden Paths in Roumania (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888).

Walshe, Douglas,

With the Serbs in Macedonia (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1920).

Ward, Philip,

Albania: A Travel Guide (Cambridge and New York: The Oleander Press, 1983).

Bulgaria: A Travel Guide (Cambridge and New York: Oleander Press, 1989).

Bulgarian Voices: Letting the People Speak (Cambridge and New York: Oleander Press, 1992).

Waring, L.F.,

Serbia, Home University Library of Modern Knowledge (London: Williams and Norgate, 1917).

Watson, J.R.,

English Poetry of the Romantic Period, 1789-1830, Longman Literature in English (London and New York: Longman, 1985).

Watt, Ian,

Conrad in the Nineteenth Century (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979).

Watts, Cedric,

A Preface to Conrad, 2nd. ed., Preface Books (1982; London and New York: Longman, 1993).

Waugh, Evelyn,

Unconditional Surrender, new ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

Waugh, Patricia,

Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction, New Accents (London and New York: Methuen, 1984).

Practising Postmodernism/Reading Modernism, Interrogating Texts (London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1993).

Waugh, Patricia, ed.,

Postmodernism: A Reader (London: Edward Arnold, 1994).

- Weber, Shirley Howard, *Voyages and Travels in the Near East during the XIX Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952).
- Weir, Donald, *Balkan Saga* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1937).
- Welleck, Rene, *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).
- West, Rebecca, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: The Record of a Journey through Yugoslavia in 1937*, 2 Vols. (London: Macmillan, 1942).
- Wheelwright, Julie, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness*, new ed. (1989; London: Pandora, 1990).
- Whelpton, Eric, *Dalmatia* (London: Robert Hale, 1954).
- Whitwell, E.R., *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Paint Brush* (Darlington: William Dresser; London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, c.1909).
- Whittell, Giles, *Lambada Country: A Ride across Eastern Europe* (London: Chapmans, 1992).
- Wilde, Alan, *Horizons of Assent: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Ironic Imagination* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
- Wilkinson, Rupert, *The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Williams, D.A., ed., *The Monster in the Mirror: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Realism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- Williams, Raymond, *Marxism and Literature*, Marxist Introductions (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- , *The Country and the City*, new ed. (1973; London: The Hogarth Press, 1993)
- Wills, P.L. Martin, *A Captive of the Bulgarian Brigands: Englishman's Terrible Experiences in Macedonia* (London: Ede, Allom and Townsend, 1906).
- Wilson, Francesca M., *Portraits and Sketches of Serbia* (London: The Swarthmore Press, 1920).
- , *In the Margins of Chaos: Recollections of Relief Work in and between Three Wars* (London: John Murray, 1944).

- Wilson, Kevin &
Jan van der Dussen, *The History of the Idea of Europe*, rev. ed. (1993; London and New York: Routledge/The Open University, 1995).
- Winchester, Simon, *The Fracture Zone: A Return to the Balkans* (London: Viking, 1999).
- Wingfield, W.F., *A Tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro; with an Historical Sketch of the Republic of Ragusa, from the Earliest Times down to its Final Fall* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859).
- Winnifrith, T.J., *Shattered Eagles: Balkan Fragments* (London: Duckworth, 1995).
- Wolfe, Tom, 'The New Journalism', in Wolfe and E.W. Johnson, *The New Journalism* (London: Picador, 1975).
- Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilisation on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- 'Voltaire's Public and the Idea of Eastern Europe: Toward a Literary Sociology of Continental Division', *Slavic Review* 54, No. 4 (Winter 1995).
- Woods, H.C., *Washed by Four Seas: An English Officer's Travels in the Near East* (London and Leipsic: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908).
- Woodward, Susan L., *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995).
- *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- Woolf, Virginia, *The Voyage Out*, rpt. ed. (1915; St Albans and London: Granada, 1978).
- *Orlando*, rpt. ed. (1928; London: Grafton, 1977).
- *Three Guineas* (London: Hogarth Press, 1938).
- 'Professions for Women', *Collected Essays*, Vol. 3, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1972).
- Wright, Alfred, *Adventures in Servia: Or the Experiences of Medical Free Lance among the Bashi-Bazouks, Etc.* (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein, 1884).
- Wyon, Reginald, *The Balkan from Within* (London: James Finch and Co., 1904).

- Wyon, Reginald &
Gerald Prance, *The Land of the Black Mountain: The Adventures of Two Englishmen in Montenegro*, new ed. (1903; London: Methuen, 1905).
- Yapp, M.E., 'Europe in the Turkish Mirror', *Past and Present*, No. 137 (Nov. 1992).
- Young, Antonia, *Albania*, rev. ed., World Bibliographic Series, Vol. 94 (1988; Oxford: Clio, 1997).
- Young, Robert, ed., *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (Boston, London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).
- Youngs, Tim, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* Studies in Imperialism (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- 'Buttons and Souls: Some Thoughts on Commodities and Identity in Women's Travel Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing* 1 (Spring 1997).
- Youngs, Tim, ed., *Writing and Race*, Crosscurrents (New York and London: Longman, 1997).
- Yovitchitch, Lena A., *Pages from Here and There in Serbia* (Belgrade: S.B. Cvijanovich, 1926).
- *Yugoslavia, Peeps at Many Lands* (London: A. and C. Black, 1928).
- *Within Closed Frontiers*, 2nd. ed. (1956; London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1956).
- Žižek, Slavoj, *Tarrying with the Negative. Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).